THOMAS PARRY, 1787.

Reproduced from a miniature painted in 1787 by C. Nash of Camberwell; now in the Powysland Museum, Welshpool.

THOMAS PARRY

FREE MERCHANT
MADRAS 1768-1824

by

G. H. HODGSON

HIGGINBOTHAMS
MADRAS, BANGALORE, OOTACAMUND

1938

To

Bill and Barbara

PREFACE.

The 150th anniversary of the landing of Thomas Parry, free merchant, at Madras in 1788, affords a suitable excuse, if excuse were needed, for the presentation of some account of his 36 years residence in that city, during which he founded the firm which is now Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd.

Parry's residence in Madras covered the years 1788 to 1824, during which long period he only left the Presidency, to visit Ceylon, on one or two occasions; and he never returned to England, dying in harness, of cholera, at Porto-Novo in his 56th year.

These were kaleidoscopic years in Madras, and it is doubtful whether any period of 36 years in the history of the Presidency has been productive of greater or more far-reaching changes.

When Parry landed, the Presidency and the City of Madras were practically synonymous; when he died

in 1824, the Presidency had been extended to its present limits—a territory of 142,000 square miles with a vast population.

In 1788 the land revenues of the Madras Government amounted to a few thousand pounds; by 1824 they approached £4,000,000 per annum.

On his arrival in 1788, Parry can hardly have discerned from amongst the writers and merchants of the East India Company the seeds of the fine services which had begun to take such firm roots by the time he died.

Up to the end of the 18th century the law was administered in Madras by men altogether untrained in the legal profession; Parry himself was called upon in his early days to act as examiner to the Mayor's Court, and later as Judge of Small Causes. By 1824 the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras had nearly a quarter of a century of history behind it.

In 1788 there was no possibility of a change of air from Madras during the hot weather. Even Pondicherry, which later became a fashionable seaside resort, was in hostile French hands. By 1824, not only Pondicherry, but the whole of the Mysore plateau, was available, and the Nilgiri Hills had recently been "discovered."

In Parry's early days the French influence in South India, and on the high seas, was considerable; by 1824 it was of no account.

The difficulties with which the business community, particularly the free merchants, had to contend during the first 25 years of Parry's stay in Madras were tremendous. The 3rd and 4th Mysore Wars and the Maratha Wars, coupled with gross misgovernment in the Carnatic, disturbed business in the interior; and from 1793 until 1815 the wars on the continent of Europe seriously affected foreign trade. In addition, the East India Company held a monopoly of the trade to and from England until as late as 1813, and even after that date they continued to compete with private enterprise.

Parry lived through what were perhaps the worst years of famine and depression Madras has ever known, 1806 and 1807; and, in conditions such as these, it is not surprising that he made and lost several fortunes.

He fell foul of the authorities at Fort St. George on two occasions at least, and one way or another he was, in his own words, "tolerably well buffetted about by that jade Fortune", to which he added with feeling, "what a Bitch she is."

He has left a delightful self-portrait in his file of private letters written during the years 1806–1809. These letters start in January 1806 with reference to the Battle of Trafalgar, news of which had just reached Madras four months after the event; and they conclude with Parry's comments on the mutiny of the officers of the Madras Army which occurred in 1809.

Other interesting references are to the Sepoy Mutiny at Vellore, to a cyclone in Madras, to his own banishment in 1809, and to various important personages then in the public eye, such as Nelson, Wellington, Pitt and Fox; besides giving a general impression of local politics and of the business methods of the times.

These letters are preserved in a large leather bound book into which they were transcribed in pen and ink before despatch each day. Some of the "writers" who carried out this work were Portuguese, but some were poorly educated Indians, and there are some curious errors which are clearly due to an attempt on the part of the transcriber to copy exactly the outline of a word which he himself could not read and did not understand.

The account which follows has been compiled from these letter books, and also from ledgers and other records in the possession of Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd.,

Madras; also from papers in the Madras Record Office, the British Museum, the India Office, and St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* and various histories of India have also been freely consulted.

When compiling the record of Parry's life, it was soon found that the material available for the years covered by Parry's letters was considerably more detailed than for the rest of his life in Madras. The method adopted has therefore been to split the work up into two Parts, and to reproduce in Part II extracts from some of those letters which have not been used in Part I.

Part I therefore records Parry's Life, and Part II his Letters.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. G. E. Walker, Barrister-at-Law, for his help in preparing the account of Parry's connection with the Carnatic Debts scandal, and for correcting and revising my proofs; also to Mr. C. Mainprice, of Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd., for much patient research work.

I am also much indebted to Mr. Robert Owen, F.R.Hist.S., of the Council of the Powysland Club, Welshpool, and to Mr. A. Stanley Davies, Hon. Secretary of the Friends of the Powysland Museum, for

their courtesy in furnishing me with information regarding the history of the Parry family, and their connection with Leighton Hall.

G. H. HODGSON.

Madras,
October, 1938.

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*Photographs by The Bangalore Photo Stores, Madras.

Note: All the photographs of Parry's Buildings, 1938, were taken by Mr. B. Matthews, F.R.I.B.A., M.T.P.I., to whom grateful acknowledgments are due.

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1768—1787

His origin—His youth—Contemporary history—Sails for Madras—Lands at Madras—Madras Presidency in 1788—Population—Garden Houses—Postal service—Fort St. George—Shipping—Transport—Currency—Fashions—Society—The Interior—The Moral Code.

1

1768–1787

This is the story of a young Welshman, Thomas Parry, who sailed for Madras in 1787 at the age of nineteen, and there founded a firm of Public Agents or Merchant Bankers, which still exists in that city and throughout Southern India under the name of Parry & Co., Ltd.

The pages which follow tell of his fortunes (he made several), and of his misfortunes; of his successes and his failures; of his health and his sickness; of his life—and, finally, of his death after 36 years' continuous residence in Madras.

In the main, this volume is a record of those 36 years, but Parry was nineteen when he left England, and it is first necessary to record the little that is known of his early years.

His Origin

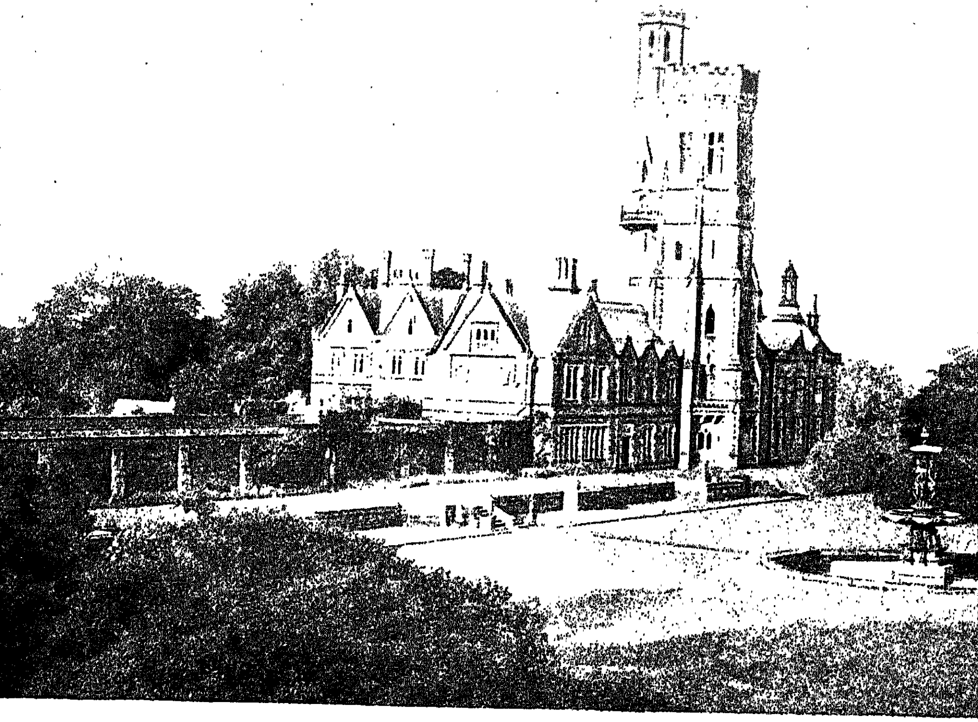
In 1768, when the peruke makers of England petitioned His Majesty King George III "complaining bitterly of the growing custom of gentlemen wearing their own hair, employing foreigners to dress it" with pomatum, lavender water and powder, a happy event occurred at Leighton Hall, in the parish of Trelystan, near Welshpool, Montgomeryshire.

Welshpool is, and was then, a market-town of some importance situated in the upper Severn valley, and only a few miles from the English-Welsh border.

Leighton Hall was situated about a mile to the east of the town, and was, in 1768, the ancestral home of the Parrys, and it so remained until 1839 when the property was sold. The Hall still exists, but was rebuilt in 1850.

Edward Parry was, in 1768, the head of the family at Leighton Hall, and is referred to in a list of "burgess of Welshpool, 1773," as "ffarmer, an hereditary burgess sworn", a dignity which the family held until this hereditary title was abolished under the 1835 Municipal Act.

The Parrys were an ancient Welsh family who traced their descent, through Elystan Glodrudd, the



LEIGHTON HALL, WELSHPOOL.
Where Thomas Parry was born. The house was rebuilt in 1850.

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10th century King of Powys[1], from the original rulers of Powys in the 6th century. Edward Parry of Leighton Hall was, therefore, obviously the local squire.

The happy event referred to was the birth of a seventh child, and third son, to Edward Parry, by Ann, his wife. This child was later christened Thomas, and is the subject of this record.

At the time of Thomas Parry's birth, Edward and Ann Parry's family consisted of four daughters aged 20, 16, 14 and 9, followed by two sons aged 6 and 4; and the family was completed three years later by the addition of a fourth son.

The following details of Thomas Parry's brothers and sisters are extracted from *Montgomeryshire Worthies* in the Montgomery Collections:—

1. *Mary Parry.* Born, 15th April, 1748; married, 7th February, 1780, at Trelystan, Henry Owen, of Pool (Hereditary Burgess, 1794). She died leaving three children.
2. *Jane Parry.* Born, 16th April, 1752; married, 1st June, 1772, at Trelystan, William Bryan of Forden; and died 16th February, 1846, aged 86, leaving one son and two daughters.

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[1] Powys, Powis, or Powysland, was that part of eastern Wales now forming the counties of Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire.

3. *Ann Parry*. Born, 27th March, 1754; married 16th October, 1771, at Trelystan, Thomas Pugh, of Whitehouse. She died March 1st, 1840, aged 86, leaving sixteen children.[1]
4. *Elizabeth Parry*. Born, 1759; married her cousin Gilbert Ross, of Llanerchydol. She died on the 16th August, 1825, aged 66, without issue.
5. *Edward Parry*. Born, 1762; died, 25th February, 1825, aged 62, unmarried.
6. *John Parry*. Baptised at Trelystan, 8th April, 1764; married and had four children. He predeceased Thomas Parry and therefore died as a comparatively young man.
7. *THOMAS PARRY*. Born, 1768; died in India, of cholera, in 1824, aged 56, after 36 years' residence in Madras.
8. *David Parry*. Born, 1771; died, 1856, aged 85, unmarried.

His Youth

There is no record of Thomas Parry's early years, beyond the fact that he lost his father when he was five years old. But his mother was still living at Leighton Hall as late as 1810, when she must

[1] Two, at least, of these children later joined Thomas Parry in Madras as junior partners, and his firm was known as Messrs. Parry & Pugh from 1809 to 1812, and as Messrs. Parry, Pugh & Breithaupt

have been over 80, so there is every reason to suppose he was well brought up and adequately educated.

Whether he went to a public school is not known, but as he sailed for India in his nineteenth year it is reasonably certain he had no university education.

There was, however, almost certainly a gap of a year or so between the time he left school—perhaps in 1786—and his sailing for India towards the end of the following year. If so, it is more than likely he filled in that time as apprentice in some business house, but this is purely conjecture.

As, therefore, we cannot follow Parry through his childhood and school-days, we must rest content with a brief historical survey of the years between his birth and his departure for India.

Contemporary History

The year 1768, when Thomas Parry was born, was the eighth year of the sixty years' reign of George III, when England was, for the time being, at peace with the world. But Parry was only five years old when the "Boston tea-party" took place, and two

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from 1813 to 1818 inclusive. The Pugh family was, in fact, represented amongst the partners of Parry & Co. practically without a break from 1806 until 1862, when John Pugh, a grandson of Ann Parry, retired.

years later England had entered the War of American Independence which finally lost her America in 1783. Parry was then fifteen.

During those ten fateful years England had been at war, not only with her American Colonists, but with France, who was supreme at sea, and with Spain and Holland, to say nothing of Haidar Ali.

Lord North had been prime minister of England until his ministry fell in 1782, when George III's supremacy over parliament also ended. William Pitt the younger then started his seventeen years' ministry, and in 1784 he introduced and passed his India Act. This Act was of importance, as it set up, for the first time, the dual control of England's Indian possessions by the East India Company and parliament; a system which continued until the Government of India came under the Crown in 1858.

By 1787, when Parry was 19, England was once more at peace. She had lost her American colonies, and George Washington became the first President of the United States of America two years later. During 1788 the first British colony was established at Botany Bay in Australia, and, to anticipate a little further, the French Revolution broke out in 1789, the Bastille falling on the 14th July of that year, This also was the

year in which the Mutiny on the *Bounty* occurred, an episode which is of interest in this narrative, for in 1807 Parry obtained a letter of introduction for one of his Captains to the Governor of Botany Bay, who was then the famous Captain Bligh of the *Bounty*.

When Parry sailed for India in 1787, that country was very much in the news. Warren Hastings had resigned the Governor-Generalship in 1785, and, towards the end of 1788, had begun to face his long impeachment before the House of Lords, Lord Cornwallis having succeeded him as Governor-General.

With this brief historical background, we may now pick up the threads once more and follow Thomas Parry on his journey to Madras.

Sails for Madras

When 1787 came, Parry was 19 years old, and the decision was taken to send him out to India. He was connected with Madras through his cousin and brother-in-law, Gilbert Ross, who had married Parry's fourth sister, Elizabeth. Members of the Ross family had served in Madras for many years, and a Colonel Patrick Ross was, in 1787, Chief Engineer at Fort St. George, and was then in process of extending the fortifications there. Gilbert Ross had

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never been to Madras himself, but he was senior partner of Messrs. Ross & Burgie, a city firm of East India Merchants with offices in Mark Lane, and it was no doubt owing to his influence that Parry sailed for India. A George Parry then in the civil service at Madras may also have been a relative.

According to tradition, he sailed in an East Indiaman as supercargo, an officer of rather greater importance than the modern purser; but it has not been possible to verify this. However that may be, Parry no doubt sailed with high hopes—for had not the famous Paul Benfield only recently returned from Madras fabulously rich, and was not England then full of retired "Nabobs"?

Journeys to India in those days were normally not without fighting risks, and Parry was fortunate in sailing at a time when England was at peace. She had, as we have seen, only recently emerged from a particularly black period, during which she had been at war with France, Spain, Holland, and the American Colonies, besides the Marathas and Haidar Ali. And she was by no means supreme at sea.

There are several contemporary accounts of a journey out to Madras in an East Indiaman at about that time, one of the most interesting being that of

Thomas Twining, a civil servant who sailed from Deal, the usual port of embarkation for passengers, on the 26th April, 1792, and landed at Madras on the 1st August of that year—a very quick passage in those days.

Twining tells us that, on boarding his East Indiaman off Deal, he was conducted to his cabin down a ladder "to the lower or gun deck, not far from the stern." The porthole being shut owing to the heavy sea that was running, he could hardly see across the cabin, nor could he stand without laying hold of some fixed object, and the stench of the close suffocating air was terrible.

The cabin, in which were seven bunks, was six feet wide; and the journey to Madras "through the hot climate of the tropics and the rough seas of the Cape of Good Hope, when, the port and scuttle being closed for many successive days and nights, there was no air nor ray of light" must have been indescribably unpleasant. Small wonder, perhaps, that of the seven youths who shared the cabin, Twining was the only one who saw England again.

Fares to Madras varied from £70 to £250 according to the rank of the person concerned and the accommodation provided, and as Parry was

certainly not senior to Twining, we may safely assume he was not made more comfortable in 1788 than Twining was four years later.

His journey out probably took him upwards of five or six months; it could have hardly been less, for when, eighteen years later, the Home fleet left Deal on the 4th March and arrived off Madras on the 27th June, Parry referred to it as "an astonishing passage."

Lands at Madras

Fort St. George must have been a welcome sight to passengers who had travelled out in such conditions, and Parry was probably no exception. The following is a contemporary description of Madras, as seen from the sea:—

"The approach to Madras from the sea is very striking with the low flat sandy shores extending to the north and south, and the small hills that are seen inland; the whole exhibiting an appearance of barrenness, which is much improved on closer inspection.

The beach seems alive with the crowds that cover it. The public offices and store houses erected near to the beach are fine buildings, with colonnades to the upper stories, supported on arched bases, covered with the beautiful shell mortar of Madras

> —hard, smooth, and polished. Within a few yards of the sea, the fortifications of Fort St. George present an interesting appearance, and at a distance minarets and pagodas are seen mixed with trees and gardens.
>
> With all these external advantages it would be difficult to find a worse place for a capital than Madras, situated as it is on the margin of a coast where runs a rapid current, and against which a tremendous surf breaks even in the mildest weather."

There is some justification for this unflattering description of Madras, but when Francis Day and Andrew Cogan founded the settlement in 1639 it was Hobson's Choice for them, and they had to choose a site which nobody else could conceivably want.

Parry's ship having anchored in Madras roads, there followed the exciting, and often dangerous, experience of landing through the treacherous surf in one of the old masula boats.

A contemporary description of such a landing reads:—

> "The boats used for crossing the surf are large and light, and made of very thin planks, sewed together with straw in the seams instead of caulking, which it is supposed would render them too stiff; the great object being to have them as flexible as

possible, to yield to the waves like leather.

When within the influence of the surf, the coxswain stands up, and beats time with great agitation with his voice and foot, while the rowers work their oars backwards, until overtaken by a strong surf curling up, which sweeps along with a frightful violence. Every oar is then plied forward with the utmost vigour to prevent the wave from taking the boat back as it recedes; until at length by a few successive surfs, the boat is dashed high and dry on the beach."

All landings of both passengers and cargoes in those days were made opposite the Sea Gate of Fort St. George; the sea at that period breaking quite close to the fortifications. It has now receded several hundreds of yards, owing to the sand accretions caused by the southern arm of the modern Madras Harbour, a mile or more to the northward.

Twining records that, on landing at Fort St. George in 1792, four years after Parry, he "walked to the Water Gate not more than 50 yards from the sea."

Parry was no doubt met by friends when he landed, and so possibly escaped the fate of the complete stranger to Madras, who, on landing, was "immediately surrounded by hundreds of dobashies,

A MADRAS MASULA BOAT.

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and servants of all kinds pushing for employment. These dobashies undertake to interpret, buy all that is wanted, provide servants, tradesmen, palanquins, and to transact whatever business a stranger requires".

And so, for the present, we will leave Parry to settle into his lodgings in the Fort whilst we digress in order to make a rapid survey of the Madras Presidency of those days.

Madras Presidency in 1788

In 1788 the Madras Presidency, except for the recently ceded Northern Circars, consisted of Fort St. George and a small strip of territory surrounding it only a few miles in extent. The East India Company had no sovereign powers in the South outside that small area, though the Nawab of the Carnatic and sundry minor Rajahs were in fact little more than vassals, so that the Company's influence throughout the south of the peninsula was, even at that date, considerable. Mysore, Hyderabad, and the Marathas, however, were still strong and troublesome neighbours.

Population

The settlement was then about 150 years old, and the population of Madras was 300,000,[1] of whom only a few thousand, including the Army,

[1] It is now about 700,000.

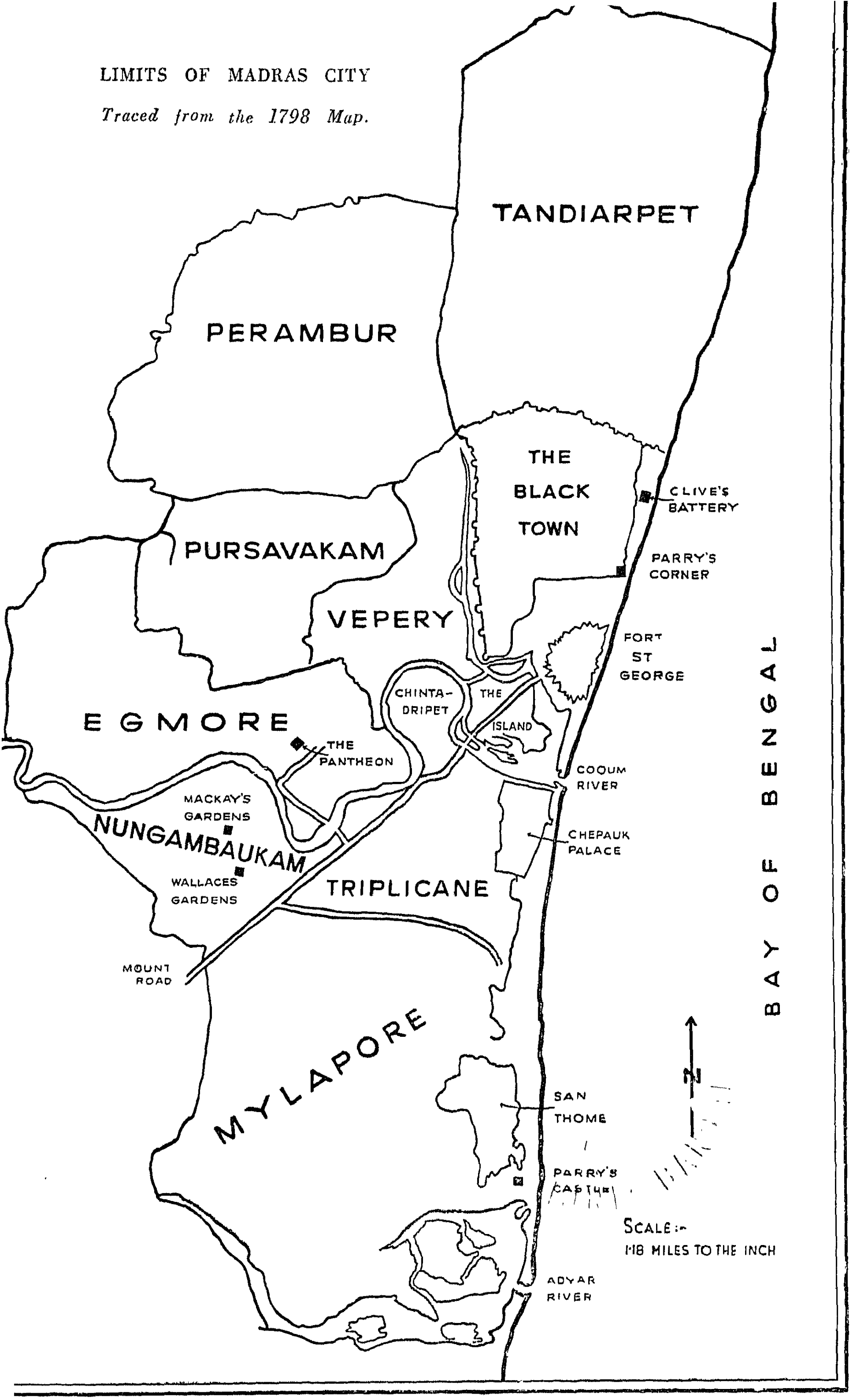
were British—the rest being Dutch, French, Portuguese, Armenians and the natives of the country. The local Mohamedans were called *Moors,* the Telugus *Gentoos,* and the Tamils *Malabars.*

The majority of the European residents were in the service of the East India Company, but a large number were non-covenanted, and the registers of the time show how varied were the occupations of some of these latter.

A few descriptions may be quoted from the "Occupation" column of a contemporary register.

Bricklayer; jew merchant; makes vinegar for Mr. Hall; ladies hairdresser; pork butcher; postillion; punch house keeper; horse breaker; coachman to the Nabob; organist; superior catholic priest; keeps a coffee house; portrait painter; gentleman; master of ceremonies; comedian; gardener; writes letters for black people; captain of a country vessel; no employ (in gaol).

In the 1791 "register of Europeans not in the service of the Honourable Company" there are 202 names, of which 128 were of persons residing in Madras without permission.



LIMITS OF MADRAS CITY

Traced from the 1798 Map.

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Garden Houses

Many of the Europeans lived, and the large majority of them worked, in Fort St. George, though many of the more wealthy owned "garden houses" on Choultry plain, in which they lived when the Mysorean and Maratha cavalry were not in the neighbourhood, and from which they came in every day to their work in the Fort by palanquin or by phaeton and pair. Choultry plain was that area lying between the Triplicane-San Thome road on the east and the Long Tank on the west, and included the villages of Egmore, Nungambaukam, Teynampet and Royapettah.

A contemporary account reads:—

"Madras differs in appearance considerably from Calcutta, having no European town, except a few houses in the Fort, the settlers residing entirely in their garden houses; repairing to the Fort in the morning for the transaction of business; and returning in the afternoon."

In 1780 Innes Munro[1] wrote of these garden houses:—

"Every gentleman of note has a house upon Choultry plain, which from being formerly a sandy desert, is now become a most beautiful retreat. I

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[1] A lieutenant in the 73rd Highlanders.

suppose there are not less than five or six hundred garden houses scattered upon these grounds, all within a circle of six or seven miles from the garrison, nor is it easy to determine which of them is the handsomest. The houses are most of them two stories[1] high, and appear as if supported upon elegant pillars of various orders. The apartments are generally upstairs, and on one floor, those below being used as cellars, kitchens, etc. Piazzas are constructed all round the house, both above and below, which keeps it extremely cool and pleasant the whole day long."

Thomas Twining, writing of 1794, says:—

"Here, (on Choultry plain) the more respectable part of the European population resided . . . Their houses I thought very handsome . . . They seldom exceeded one storey in height, and often had the ground floor alone. Their flat roofs, surrounded by a light colonnade, and the beautiful shining plaster[2] which covered the lofty pillars of the spacious verandahs, gave to these elegant villas a delightful appearance."

The rent of a large house in the Fort at that time was Rs. 750 a month, and Rs. 240 was asked for a small house in which "two captains, but not more, might find accommodation." It was not, therefore, surprising

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[1] *i.e.*, ground floor and one storey.

[2] Now a lost art.

that houses should be built on the surrounding plain as soon as the success of British arms had made it reasonably safe to do so. Nevertheless, Munro's estimate of between 500 and 600 garden houses in 1780 is almost certainly an over-statement, and Twining was probably nearer the mark when he wrote that in 1794 "these villas, formerly very limited both as to number and convenience, now amounted to more than 200, remarkable for their beauty and taste."

Postal Service

Postal arrangements when Parry arrived were poor and expensive. The mail from Madras took nineteen days to reach Calcutta, seventeen days to Bombay, and four to five months to England, the latter post leaving Madras only when a fleet left for England, sometimes only once a year, and seldom more than twice.

The post for Calcutta and Bombay left Madras once a week, the postage on a letter weighing 2½ tolas[1] being Re. 1-1-0 to Calcutta and Re. 1 to Bombay; the post to Bombay was described as passing through "so large a tract of unexplored and foreign territory", *i.e.*, the Nizam's Dominions and the Maratha country.

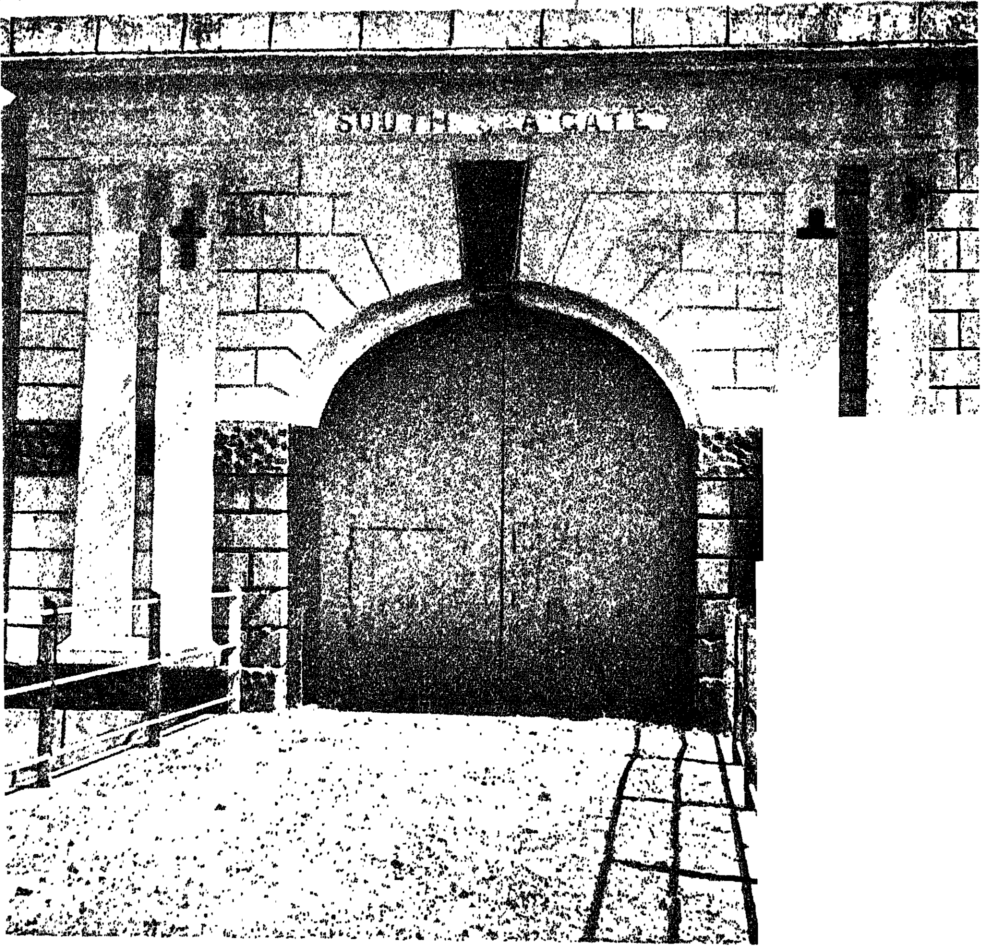
[1] A tola is now the weight of a Rupee piece, but was then slightly less.

In 1797 a great improvement was brought about by the introduction of an overland post to England *via* Basra and Alleppo, which left Bombay regularly each week. Postage was paid on delivery, and the fee payable on a letter weighing one tola was 7 pagodas—or about Rs. 25.

Madras had, since 1785, had its own newspaper, a weekly publication called the *Madras Courier,* of which more anon.

Fort St. George

Fort St. George had been recently enlarged, and was, when Parry landed, substantially as it is to-day. Many of the present buildings, however, were not then built, and Twining recalls that when he passed through the Sea Gate in 1794, he came on a large open space which is certainly not there now. The ground round the Fort was free of all buildings for many hundreds of yards in all directions, and there were then no buildings between the Esplanade and the Fort. There was no road in front of the Fort—that is to say between it and the sea—and the only way from Chepauk Palace to the Fort was by boat across the Cooum, or, of course, by road past Government House and then over the Triplicane Bridge, on



THE SEA GATE OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

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the site of the existing Willingdon Bridge. There was also no direct road from the Fort to San Thome along the line of the present wide Marina.

Shipping

The trade of the Port was considerable, for 944 vessels entered the roads during the twelve months ending the 23rd November, 1797. Of these, 191 were three-masted ships, of which 44 belonged to the East India Company.

Transport

Europeans resident in Madras used various forms of horse vehicles, of which the phaeton, and a special kind of local chariot, appear to have been the most popular.

For the journey to the Fort every morning from their garden houses on Choultry plain, however, the palanquin[1] seems to have been more generally used. This form of transport was also in vogue for much longer journeys—to Sadras, to Pondicherry, and so on.

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1 Parry at times spelt it (quite correctly) "palankeen." But Madras likes these variations. Moore's Road in Nungambaukam, which is less than a quarter of a mile in length, is spelt "Moor Road" at one end, "Moore Road" at the other, and "Moores Road" and "Moore's Gardens" in the middle.

Thomas Twining writes describing his first impressions on landing at Madras in 1792:—

> "Here, too, for the first time, I saw palanquins of various forms and degrees of elegance moving about in different directions, the natives, whom I was surprised to see carrying them with such agility, uttering a kind of song, apparently to give uniformity to their step, and calling out to the persons before them to make way . . .
>
> The immense chattahs—large painted umbrellas, six or eight feet long, carried by servants over the heads or by the side of the palanquins of their masters, to keep off the sun,—such were the objects of this scene, so full of novelty, interest, and amusement."

Later he gives the following account of approaching the Island in his palanquin on his way to the Fort in the morning:—

> "As we approached a bridge[1] leading over a small stream[2] a short distance from the fort, it was a pleasing sight to see the number of palanquins, European and native, which converged across the plain to the same point, each surrounded by a picturesque group of attendants."

Another form of transport in much more frequent use then than it is now, was the country craft. Parry

---

[1] Now the Willingdon Bridge.
[2] The River Cooum.

normally made the journey from the Fort to his tannery at San Thome by boat, except in the monsoon when he had to make the long detour inland, down the Mount Road and through Triplicane.

He also usually travelled in his cutter when he visited his indigo works in South Arcot.

The inevitable bullock-bandy provided the only form of goods transport, and the cost, for a journey of any length, was extraordinarily high.

In 1807, when Parry despatched 100 pairs of boots from San Thome to Bangalore for the troopers of H.M.'s 22nd Dragoons, the invoice shows that whereas the boots cost Rs. 1,000, the cart hire, for only two cases, amounted to no less than Rs. 1,800, though probably this included the wages and provisions for a large armed escort.

Thomas Twining refers to one of the local carriages in the following terms:—

> "In its form it seems to be an imitation of an ancient English chariot, but the pair of slight long-tailed horses attached to it was quite Indian, and an Indian in a long white dress which descended to his feet, and a turban of great circumference, sat most erect upon the box.
>
> Presently a European got into this vehicle, when the capering little horses drew it off at a

quick pace; a second Indian, in a white robe and turban, standing behind, and two others, similarly dressed, running by the side of the horses.

There was something singularly theatrical in the whole character and movement of this Asiatic equipage."

Currency

The currency in Madras must have been confusing to the newcomer, for in 1788 there were no less than fourteen different kinds of rupee current, *viz.*, those of Masulipatam, Madras, Jaganaikpuram, Surat, Adoni, Bombay, Arcot, Pondicherry, Calcutta-Arcot, Bengal Sicca, Raichore, Nagpore, Aurangabad and Benares; and a Madras Mint list of March, 1793, quotes the following:—

Hydery Gold Mohurs	@ 16 Arcot Rs. each.
Ahumeedee Gold Mohurs	@ 4 Mysore Pags. each.
Shiddahee Half Mohurs	@ 2 ,, ,, ,,
Hydera Pagodas	@ 4⅛ Arcot Rs. each.
Vuroyen Gold Fanams	@ 16½ per Mysore Pag.
Raja Gopaul Fanams	@ 31 ,, ,, ,,
Cotta Gopaul Fanams	@ 33 ,, ,, ,,
Tellecherry Fanams	@ 20 ,, ,, ,,
Sultan Fanams	@ 13¼ ,, ,, ,,
Venetians	@ 5 rupees each.
Shampoor Rupees	@ 365 per 100 S. Pags.

Pondicherry Rupees	@	382¾ per 100 Mysore Pags.
Maratha Rupees	@	4⅛ per Mysore Pag.
German Crowns	@	2 „ „ „

The rate of exchange between the gold star pagoda, which was the basis of currency, and the silver Arcot rupee was constantly fluctuating owing to arrivals of silver or shortage of gold, and, in an endeavour to stabilise exchange, Fort St. George issued the following order on the 1st March, 1791:—

> Government, sensible of the inconvenience and embarrassments that are experienced by the fluctuation in the exchange of Arcot Rupees, and conceiving it an object of general utility to fix the value of this rupee, and bring it into circulation, they have taken the opinion of the Principal Merchants, and Shroffs, and communicated certain propositions to that effect which have met their full concurrence. It has been resolved in consequence:—
>
> 1stly—That the Arcot Rupee shall be current in all dealings whatsoever.
>
> 2ndly—That the relative value of the Arcot Rupee to the Star Pagoda shall be as 365 Arcot Rupees to 100 Star Pagodas.
>
> 3rdly—That the relative value of the Arcot Rupee to the Fanam and Cash shall be as one Arcot Rupee to twelve Fanams, and

twenty-five Cash, and that the Rupee shall be readily exchanged at that rate.

4thly—That the Company shall receive Arcot Rupees when tendered in Payments of whatever kind, at their rated value as above mentioned.

By order of the Governor in Council,

C. N. White,

Sec.

Fashions

It is difficult for the modern resident in Madras, accustomed as he is to refrigerators, electric fans, iced drinks, electric lights, and other modern conveniences, to appreciate the discomforts with which Parry and his contemporaries had to contend.

Even the overhead punkas were not in general use, if indeed they had then been invented, and in Parry's day people slept all night either devoured by mosquitoes or with punkah boys standing each side of the bed lazily waving a large fan to and fro, and ready to go to sleep themselves as soon as Master did.

William Hickey describes a very unpleasant night spent in Madras in the seventeen-seventies. After explaining how he was disturbed throughout the night by animals running all over him, he says: "Upon

taking off a silk net I always wore over my hair when in bed, I found several holes gnawed by these animals (bandicoots), attracted by the powder and pomatum, of which, according to the then fashion, I wore a large quantity."

Powdered hair, tail coat, high collar and cravat, knee breeches, silk stockings and buckled shoes were the prevailing fashion in Parry's day, though perukes were still worn by the clergy and army officers, and by others on ceremonial occasions. Even as late as 1818 Parry was purchasing "powder, lavender water and pomatum", and "silk stockings."

Society

The daily social round started in Madras at 9 o'clock in the morning, between which hour and 11 o'clock people visited each other. This was known as "the lounge hour, during which interval, the young men go about from house to house, learn and retail the news, and offer their services to execute commissions in the City, to which they must repair for purposes of business." And so to the Fort by palanquin.

"When these functionaries are gone, a troop of idlers appears, and remain until tiffin at two o'clock, when the real dinner is eaten."

Tiffin over, a siesta followed until about 5 o'clock, "about which time the master of the family returns from the Fort, when an excursion to the Mount Road, and dinner afterwards, finishes the day, unless prolonged by a ball or supper party at night."

A monthly "assembly" was held, at which all society was present. It was usually held in The Pantheon—now the Madras Museum—and took the form of a ball and supper.

Other diversions were racing on the Island and occasional amateur dramatic performances at the new Play-house on Choultry plain. An advertisement in the *Madras Courier* of the 16th February, 1791, reads:—

> "The Subscribers to the Madras Theatre are respectfully informed that on Thursday, the 24th instant, will be performed the Tragedy of the Revenge, with the Farce of the Minor:—The Performance to begin precisely at half past six."

And, on the 2nd March, 1791:—

> "The little Theatre on the Plain has been very fertile and given two nights of entertainment since our last:—on Thursday The Minor, and The Virgin Unmasked; and last night The Revenge and The Minor."

The Interior

The Carnatic in 1788 had barely recovered from the ravages caused by Haider Ali and the Mysore armies in 1784,[1] when "the country was stripped so bare that the most necessary supplies for even a small army were almost unprocurable."

The Moral Code

The Governor of Madras in 1788 was Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, and the settlement at that time has been described as being "torn by internal dissensions and saturated with corruption". The moral atmosphere of Madras is said to have been "pestilential" with "corruption revelling unrestrained."

This is extravagant language, and it was certainly not true of Sir Archibald Campbell, or of many of Parry's other contemporaries. But, if his subsequent conduct is to be judged with understanding, it is necessary to bear in mind that this was the atmosphere to which Parry was introduced on landing at Madras as a young man.

Lord Birkenhead in his *Famous Trials,* referring, of course, to an earlier period, writes:—"Pepys has

[1] The second of the four Mysore wars.

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preserved for us the practice and principles of one of the most upright officials of his time. He would nowadays be ignominiously dismissed for gross corruption."

Precisely the same can be said of many of the officials and non-officials of Parry's early days, and they, and he, must be judged in that light.

2

1788—1791

A free merchant—Chase & Parry, 1789—The 3rd Mysore War, 1790—Chase Parry & Co., 1790—Parry leaves Chase—End of 3rd Mysore War, 1792—Parry's private account, 1790—1791.

2

1788—1791

A Free Merchant

Such, in very brief outline, was the Madras to which Parry came in 1788. He arrived with an introduction to a Captain Vigors, with whom he stayed as a guest in the Fort during his early days. Other friends were Colonel Patrick Ross, who was still in service as Chief Engineer, and Thomas Chase, agent in Madras to Gilbert Ross.

If Parry had ever hoped through the influence of his friends and connections, either in England or in Madras, to come out in the East India Company's Service, he was disappointed. When, therefore, he sailed for Madras, he must have done so in the hope that on landing he would be able to obtain a licence from the Governor of Fort St. George to trade as a free merchant.

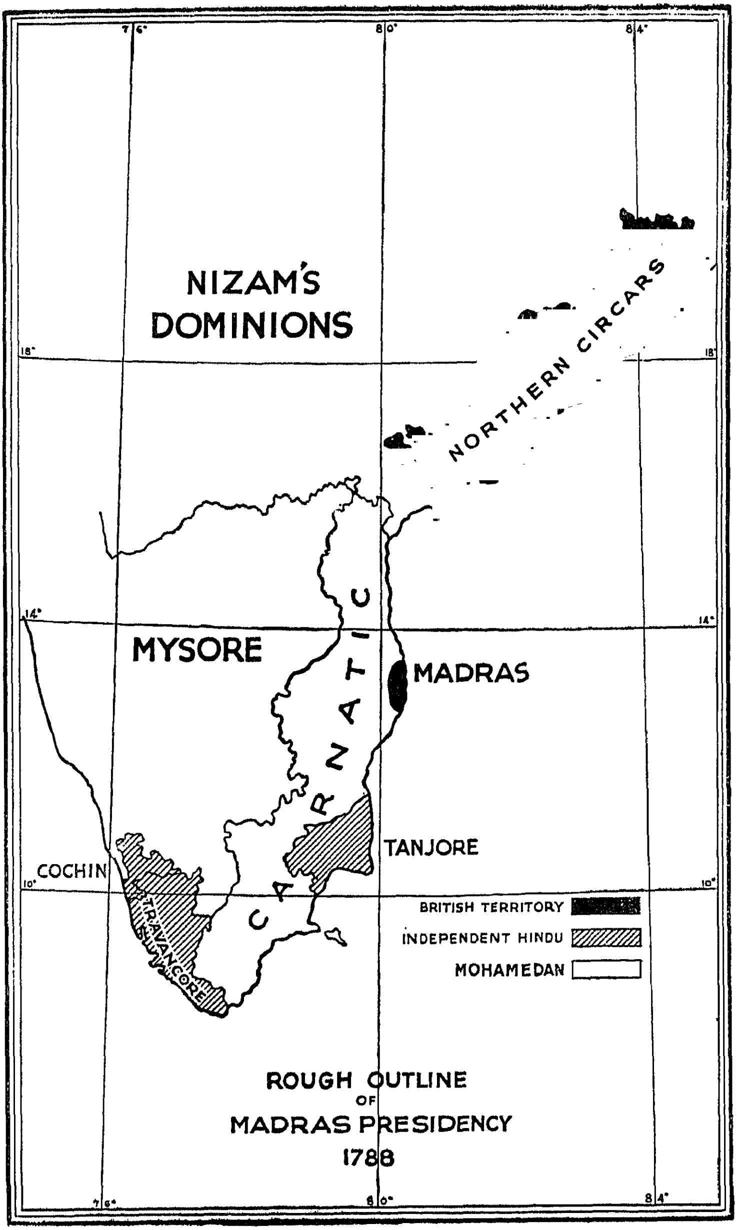
That he was immediately successful is shown by the following extract from a Register dated Fort St. George, 12-2-1789, now in the India Office Library:—

Register of Europeans, etc., who are not in the service of the Honourable Company residing in the Black Town and its environs.

Names	Occupation	Country	Whence & When	By whose permission
Parry Thomas	Merchant	Wales	England 1788	Governor's permission

It is sometimes thought that as the East India Company held a monopoly of the East Indies trade, any free-lance merchant in India must of necessity have been an interloper, but a little reflection will show that this was by no means the case. It was in the interests of the East India Company that their trading organisation should be augmented by private enterprise, and it is not difficult to see the benefit to the Company of auxiliary means of bringing the produce of the country to the ports and of distributing imported goods throughout the interior.

This did not mean that any individual might set up a business at one of the Company's settlements in competition with them; but the Company were quite


76°
80°
84°
18°
14°
10°
NIZAM'S
DOMINIONS
NORTHERN CIRCARS
MYSORE
CARNATIC
MADRAS
TANJORE
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
BRITISH TERRITORY
INDEPENDENT HINDU
MOHAMEDAN
ROUGH OUTLINE
OF
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
1788

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prepared to license certain individuals to trade within specified limits, though subject to severe restrictions, and such licensees were the free merchants. The chief monopoly of the Company was the trade between Great Britain and India, and *vice versa.*

As Dunbar says of the free merchants in his *History of India*:—"These merchants were of considerable service to the country, as they financed the growing number of Indigo Planters and were also able to take off the surplus produce not required by the Company, and export it to the eastern markets."

The Company, however, not only licensed certain non-covenanted Europeans and Indians to trade at their settlements, but they also connived at private trade on the part of their covenanted servants. These latter were, until the year 1800, so miserably paid, that they could not exist without some means of augmenting their incomes[1], and the official attitude towards this state of affairs is stated in a letter addressed by the Government of Madras to the Directors in London, dated the 14th October, 1786:—

> "We cannot, in duty to you or in justice to ourselves or the servants employed under us, omit observing that few of them on this Coast derive

[1] Clive came to India on a salary of £5 per year.

> from your Service sufficient to maintain them in a decent situation of life, and many are indeed left without a bare subsistence.
>
> The expenses of living are from various causes greatly increased, whilst from the decline of Trade and constant influx of Free Merchants who have advantages over your Servants by not being confined to any particular Spot, the benefits of commercial pursuits are to them considerably decreased and rendered more precarious."

Parry, therefore, does not appear to have landed in Madras at a particularly auspicious time, and it is well, in view of his subsequent troubles with the authorities at Fort St. George, to realise that there was this feeling of official irritation against the free merchants. As regards the advantage to free merchants of "not being confined to any particular Spot", it is of interest to anticipate a few years and to record here the following correspondence between Parry and Fort St. George in 1797, showing that free merchants were not always free to go and come as they pleased:—

To the Right Hon'ble Lord Hobart,
President etc. in Council,
Fort St. George.

My Lord,

Being under the necessity of removing from Madras, for the recovery of Mrs. Parry's health, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed certificate, I request your Lordship will be pleased to grant me leave of absence for six months.

I have the honour to be etc.

THOS. PARRY.

Madras,
27th February, 1797.

Enclosed Certificate.

We do hereby certify that Mrs. Parry has been for some months past afflicted with a train of nervous symptoms, which have lately become so violent and so much weakened her constitution, that in our opinion a change of air is absolutely necessary for the re-establishment of her health, we therefore recommend that she either proceeds to sea, as soon as possible or to some situation more favourable for the health than Madras.

Madras,
26th February, 1797.

M. THOMSON,
Surgeon.
G. DUNBAR,
Asst. Surgeon.

To Mr. Thomas Parry.
Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 27th ultimo, I am directed to inform you that the Right Hon'ble the

President in Council does not judge it expedient to comply with your request for permission to leave the Presidency.[1]

Fort St. George, I am, etc.
8th March, 1797.

JOSIAH WEBBE,
Secy. to Government.

Chase and Parry—1789

Parry spent his first year in Madras endeavouring to work up a business on his own account, but he must have found this uphill work, and, as was usual in those days, he soon had two strings to his bow.

Accordingly, on the 1st November, 1789, rather more than a year after his arrival in Madras, he, whilst continuing to trade in his own name, entered into partnership with one Thomas Chase under the name of Chase and Parry.

Thomas Chase was a civil servant of 1782, and may, therefore, have been six years or more Parry's senior, though civil servants sometimes sailed for India in those days at the age of 15. Chase was then, and had been for some years, Gilbert Ross's agent in Madras, and besides his official duties as "Senior Merchant, Clerk of Justice, Clerk to the Commissioner

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[1] Leaving the Presidency meant leaving Madras City only.

of Stores, Coroner and French Translator", he carried on a general banking and agency business.

The partnership accounts were closed, after six months working, as at the 30th April, 1790, and a profit of 11,882 star pagodas[1], or £4,159, was equally divided between Chase and Parry.

Here indeed was a case of a covenanted servant augmenting his income by private trade. Thomas Chase's monthly salary from Government for the various posts he held was as follows:—

Senior Merchant	6	Pagodas.
Clerk of Justice	50	„
Clerk to the Commissioner of Stores	41	„
Coroner	12	„
French Translator	25	„
Total ...	134	Pagodas
		or £550 per annum.

Against this he was making over £4,000 per annum as a merchant. It will be noted that Chase's substantive salary as a senior merchant amounted to only £25 per annum, the remaining £525 coming from posts presumably created by the local Government.

Chase and Parry's 1789–1792 ledger is still in Messrs. Parry & Co.'s possession, and affords some

[1] The star pagoda, worth about Rs. 3-8 or 7sh., was the basis of currency in Madras until 1813.

indication of how this profit was made. Unfortunately the accounts shown are mainly personal accounts of Messrs. Chase and Parry's many banking customers, and there are few trading accounts.

By far the largest item of profit came from the interest account. Interest was charged on all loans and debit balances at the uniform rate of 12% per annum, and, in a few cases, was allowed at rates varying between 8% and 10% on credit balances. In addition commission was charged at 1% on receipts, and, in special cases, on payments—that is to say on payments to Bengal, Bombay and so on. Profit on payments and receipts from and to England was derived then, as now, from a margin on exchange.

Messrs. Chase and Parry also charged ½% commission on premiums of insurance effected through them, and another source of profit was a charge of 2½% on freight booked.

A small charge ranging from 1 to 7 star pagodas per annum (say from 7sh. to £2-10-0) was also made to each customer for "postage on letters." This was not exorbitant when the cost of postage at that time is considered (see page 19).

It may be thought that an interest charge of 12% was usurious, but it must be remembered that the East

India Company and the Indian Princes—the latter, of course, in particular—were borrowers at high rates, and the security on the money lent by agency houses such as Messrs. Chase and Parry was often no more than the good faith of an individual who might succumb at short notice to the rigours of the Madras climate, or fall in battle. The charge of 1% on receipts is less easy to defend, though ½% is quite a common charge even to-day.

In addition to their banking business, Messrs. Chase and Parry carried on a general trading and agency business, and the following advertisements, inserted by the firm in the *Madras Courier* during the years 1790 to 1792, give some indication of the general business they carried on:—

MADRAS COURIER.

Wednesday, the 14th July, 1790.

Fort St. George, 14th July, 1790.

Notice is hereby given that an application was this day made before the King's Ordinary in the Honourable the Mayor's Court for Letters of Administration to the Estate and Effects of Edward Satter deceased to be granted to Mr. Thomas Parry as a Mortgage Bond creditor to the said deceased.

J. Hamilton,
Proctor.

Wednesday, the 28th July, 1790.

For Sale.

That large and commodious House situated at the bottom of Court Street, the property of William Augustus Dobbyn, Esq.

For particulars enquire of Messrs. Chase Parry & Co.[1]

Wednesday, the 3rd November, 1790.

For Sale by Messrs. Chase Parry & Co.

A quantity of Madeira Wine of superior quality upwards of two years old.

London Particular	...	120 Pags. per pipe[2]
London Market	...	110 ,, ,, ,,
Indian Market	...	95 ,, ,, ,,

Wednesday, the 1st December, 1790.

Fort St. George, 29th November, 1790.

Letters of Administration having been granted to Messieurs Chase, Parry and Sewell to the Estate and Effects of Captain Richard Eastland deceased all persons indebted to the said Estate are requested to make payment thereof to them as Administrators as aforesaid, to whom all those having demands

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1 The name of the firm had changed—see below.

2 The equivalent in rupees per gallon is:—

London Particular	...	Rs. 3-12-0 gal.
London Market	...	Rs. 3- 8-0 gal.
Indian Market	...	Rs. 3- 0-0 gal.

upon the said Estate are requested to apply, giving in notice of the amount of their respective claims in order that the same may be ascertained and discharged.

Wednesday, the 16th February, 1791.

Bengal Lottery.

Messrs. Porcher Redhead & Co. and Messrs. Chase Parry & Co. have received from Calcutta some tickets in the Bengal Lottery which they have lodged for Sale at the Carnatic Bank, for Pagodas twenty-eight each Ticket.

Wednesday, the 13th July, 1791.

Navy Bills.

At 90 Days Sight to be had on favourable terms by applying to Messrs. Chase Parry & Co.

Wednesday, the 1st June, 1791.

The Danish Ship *Minerva,* Captain J. Greenway, will leave the Coast for Europe in the beginning of December next, she is elegantly fitted up and has the best accommodation for passengers.

Any Person wishing for a Passage will be pleased to apply to Messrs. Chase Parry & Co., Agents for Captain Greenway.

Wednesday, the 30th March, 1791.

Bengal Code of Military Standing Negotiations.

Captain Grace has the pleasure to acquaint the Subscribers of his work in the Carnatic, that their books are sent round to Madras consigned to the House of Messrs. Chase Parry & Co. who are instructed to deliver them when demanded. Captain Grace requests that the subscriptions may be paid to Major Edward Montague of the Bengal Artillery, who will be furnished with the proper receipts, and will give an order on Messrs. Chase Parry & Co. for the delivery of the Books.

Thursday, the 20th October, 1791.

Messrs. Porcher Redhead & Co. and Messrs. Chase Parry & Co. are directed by the Commissioners of the Bengal Lottery to acquaint the holders of the Tickets sold at Madras, which are drawn prizes, agreeable to the list at foot, that on presentation of such Tickets to Messrs. Alexander Colvin and G. Tyler at Calcutta, the prizes to which they are entitled will be duly paid, after a deduction of 10 per 100 according to the scheme.

16th February, 1792.

Advertisement.

The Creditors of Mr. John Mitford who have signed his deed of trust are requested to call at the Office of Messrs. Chase Parry & Co. where they will be paid a dividend on their respective claims.

The 3rd Mysore War—1790

A month after Parry had joined Chase, Tippoo Sultan (29th December, 1789) launched an unprovoked attack on the Rajah of Travancore, who repulsed him against the "lines of Travancore." The Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, at once instructed the Madras Government to consider this attack against their ally, the Rajah of Travancore, as a declaration of war against the Company. But these instructions were disobeyed in every particular by the then Governor of Fort St. George, one John Hollond, who was promptly dismissed. General Medows, who was appointed both Governor and Commander-in-Chief to succeed Hollond, led the Madras Army out of Fort St. George and soon captured Dindigul and other places, whilst troops from Bombay took possession of Malabar.

In December, 1790, Lord Cornwallis himself came south and assumed command. Early in 1791 he captured Bangalore, and had defeated Tippoo's forces only nine miles from Seringapatam when supply and transport difficulties necessitated his falling back on Bangalore, and the campaign was not prosecuted to a conclusion until a year later.

Chase Parry & Co. —1790

Meantime Thomas Chase had taken his brother-in-law, a free merchant named Henry Sewell, into the partnership as from the 1st May, 1790, and the name and style of the firm was altered to Chase Parry & Co., from that date. Parry's share of the profits then dropped from one half to one quarter. Henry Sewell had previously held the post of "H. M. Naval Officer" at the port and later became a man of some account in Madras, and was an Alderman in 1799, and Mayor in 1800, but died during his year of office.

The profits of this new partnership for the year ending the 30th April, 1791, amounted to 21,652 star pagodas, or £7,578, of which Parry's share was £1,895. This was less than half the income which had accrued to him the previous year, but was at least adequate for a young man of twenty-two, whatever the then cost of living may have been.

Parry had already started to cut something of a dash, and there is a debit to his private account in January, 1791, of 566 pagodas (£198) for a phaeton and pair purchased from Bengal. A contemporary account tells us it was the custom for the local young bloods to gallop down the Mount Road in the after-

noon in their various conveyances to the great danger of themselves, but to the delight of the young ladies of the station.

Parry leaves Chase

It must be remembered that all this time Parry had been working up his own private business, and on the 7th April, 1791, there is a debit to his private account for "Insurance on the stock and block of the ship *Mary* for 8,000 Pagodas (£2,800) at 6%—400 Pagodas." This was probably a small vessel of not more than 200 tons, but it was a beginning, and by the end of 1791 his own affairs had begun to occupy all his time, and his partnership with Thomas Chase was dissolved.

Probably he was influenced in this decision by the fact that he considered his share of the Chase Parry & Co. partnership profits was now too small. No doubt, too, he had the invincible optimism of youth, and so, on the 1st January, 1792, at the age of 23, he again launched out entirely on his own.

End of 3rd Mysore War—1792

It was during this year that Lord Cornwallis forced peace on Tippoo before the walls of Seringapatam. Tippoo agreed to pay 330 lakhs of rupees indemnity (£3,300,000), to release all

prisoners, and to surrender two of his sons as hostages. He further agreed to cede a portion of his dominions. Thus Malabar and Coorg and the Province of Dindigul came into possession of the East India Company. Malabar was, however, at first administered from Bombay, and did not form part of the Madras Presidency until some years later.

It is interesting to record that during this campaign the needs of Lord Cornwallis' army of some 40,000 men was administered by a subsidiary army of upwards of 400,000 camp followers, comprising grain carriers, dealers and so on. Business houses in Madras no doubt supplied some of the provisions required, and probably made handsome profits, and we may imagine that Parry shared their good fortune.

Parry's private account, 1790–91

The following extracts from Parry's private account during this period are recorded. The accounts were kept in star pagodas, fanams and cash, the table being:—

80 cash	=	1 fanam
42 fanams	=	1 pagoda
1 pagoda	=	3½ rupees (7sh.)

Credits:

			Pags.	F.	C.
1790.					
Apr.	30	Cr. Balance ...	4,328	0	0
Dec.	20	By a dividend for his one half of 3 shares received from New Madras Insurance Co. ...	150	0	0
1791.					
Feb.	16	By his 6 mts. draft on Mill, Ross & Burgie for £2,000 ...	5,000	0	0
Mar.	22	Received from him a Bank Check Note ...	200	0	0
Apr.	30	By amount of his share of profits to this day ...	5,413	0	0

Debits:

1790.					
Sept.	23	To paid W. I. Chater for 37 No. of *Madras Courier* ...	10	2	0
Octr.	13	To amount of a Phaeton and freight of the same from Bengal Rs. 1,533 or Arcot Rs. 1,778-4-6 @ 405 ...	406	23	28
Octr.	31	To paid for 3 pieces of Muslin ...	38	0	0
Novr.	12	To paid subscription to Public Rooms ...	10	0	0
Novr.	23	To paid J. Gill for putting a Phaeton together and springs p. bill signed by him ...	25	0	0
1791.					
Jany.	1	To paid Mr. Durand for a shirt pin p. bill ...	10	0	0
Jany.	17	To paid Taylors Bill ...	25	5	60
Jany.	28	To paid for a pair of Horses ...	160	0	0
Feby.	28	To paid for ½ doz. Hock ...	3	0	0
		1 doz. Fish sauce ...	0	18	0
Mar.	5	To paid for 20 *Madras Couriers*...	3	8	0
Mar.	11	To paid Robert Clerk for 12 Desert spoons p. bill ...	9	0	0

		Credits:	Pags.	F.	C.
Mar.	17	To paid for 1 box of Hyson Tea p. bill ...	9	23	0
		To paid for 1 tub of sugar candy	8	0	0
Mar.	31	To paid for 2 doz. French Claret	3	0	0
		for 2 pieces of Long Cloth No. 1 and 2 ...	35	0	0
		for 4 doz. knives and forks ...	14	29	0
		for 1 doz. of Claret ...	7	0	0
Apr.	7	To premium of Insurance on the Stock and Block of the Ship *Mary* for Ps. 8,000 @ 6 p.c. ...	480	0	0
Apr.	9	To paid J. Gill for Boat Hire, etc., to Ship *Mary* ...	5	36	0
Apr.	12	To paid Mr. Gill for repairs to a Phaeton[1] ...	7	39	0
Apr.	25	To paid Mr. Gill for repairs to a Phaeton[1] ...	4	0	0
Apr.	30	Balance carried forward ...	5,651	0	0

[1] Possibly the result of a crash on the Mount Road.

3

1792—1799

A snug fortune—Pondicherry captured, 1793—The East India Company's Charter, 1793—Parry marries, 1794—Journalism—Thomas Parry & Co., 1795—The Carnatic Insurance Co., 1796—The Mayor's Court, 1796—Parry's Castle, 1796—Capture of Ceylon, 1796—The Nawab's Service—Parry Garrow & Co., 1797—The Court of Requests, 1798—The Last Mysore War, 1799—Changing times.

3

1792—1799

A snug fortune

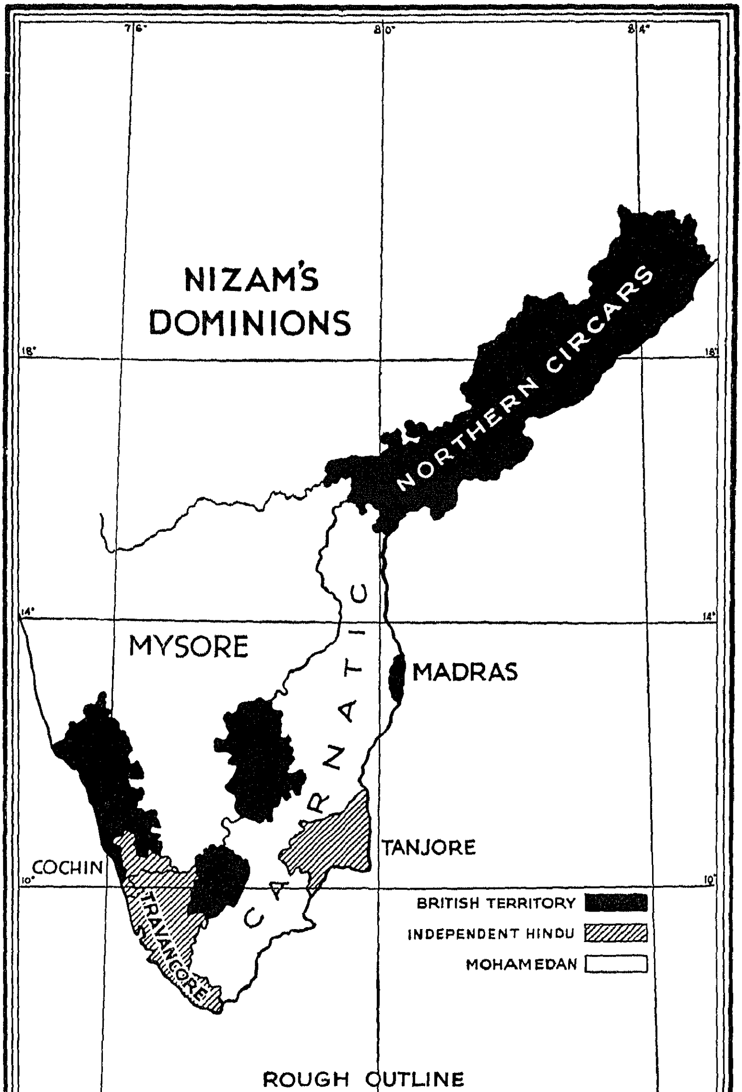
Parry continued to develop his shipping business, which, with peace reigning on the high seas, he found extremely profitable. He did well in 1792, and, by 1793, at the age of only 25, he had amassed "a snug fortune"—to use his own expression. When, in later years, the Madras climate had begun to tell on his health, he regretted he had not retired from the East with this fortune; but it is easy to be wise after the event, and he was not then to know that war with France was to break out the following year, and was to continue almost without ceasing for the next twenty-one years—in fact until the battle of Waterloo in 1815.

Parry consequently suffered very heavy losses at sea from 1794 onwards, and in 1806, he wrote home:

"I see no encouragement to engage in shipping speculations, and I shall never cease to regret that I had anything to say to them"; and again: "If I had never had anything to say to ships I might have gone home with a snug fortune thirteen years ago," Parry seems to have overlooked the fact that if he had never "had anything to say to ships" he might never have collected his "snug fortune." His losses were probably spread over several years, and were no doubt mainly brought about by French warships and privateers based on Mauritius—then known as the Isle of France. The depredations of these privateers continued without abatement until Mauritius fell to British arms in 1810, and are said to have cost the East India Company over £2,000,000.

Pondicherry captured—1793

As soon as news reached Lord (now Marquis) Cornwallis, in 1793, that war with France had been declared, he came down to Madras to superintend the reduction of the French settlements at Pondicherry, Karikal and Mahe, but found that the work had been done before his arrival. Marquis Cornwallis sailed for Home from Madras in October of that year, and was succeeded as Governor-General by Sir John Shore.


76°
80°
84°
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
18°
NORTHERN CIRCARS
14°
MYSORE
CARNATIC
MADRAS
TANJORE
COCHIN
10°
TRAVANCORE
BRITISH TERRITORY
INDEPENDENT HINDU
MOHAMEDAN
ROUGH OUTLINE
OF
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
1793.

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The Governor of Madras at this time was Sir Charles Oakley.

The E.I.Co.'s Charter, 1793

Meantime, the East India Company's Charter was due for renewal in 1793, and a strong agitation had been worked up by merchants and manufacturers in favour of the opening of the trade. Marquis Cornwallis, however, had been strongly opposed to any substantial change, "and saw dreadful visions of India filled by desperate speculators" if the Company's monopoly ceased. The Company again won the day, and in the end their Charter was renewed for a further period of twenty years without material modification. It is true that 3,000 tons of cargo space annually between England and India was thrown open to private traders, but the conditions under which this was made available were so onerous that it proved in practice to be no concession at all.

Parry was a staunch Whig, and a great admirer of Charles James Fox. He never forgave William Pitt for the terms of renewal of this Charter, and when in 1806 Fox at last became Foreign Secretary Parry wrote:—

> "In regard to the change at home, you will conclude that I most heartily rejoice and thank God

the people of Great Britain have at last opened their eyes and confided the direction of our affairs to the wisest and best of men. If anybody can retrieve us from the ruinous situation in which we have been plunged by a set of miscreants, Charles Fox will do it. How I venerate his character. During the last thirteen years[1] I have been telling the weak and foolish people of this place that nothing but destruction would ensue till we were under his guidance."

And:—

"Read the speeches of Mr. Byng and Mr. Fox at the re-election of the last at Westminster. This is the triumph of down right sterling constitutional merit, over the system of corruption. A great man, Mr. Fox! always keep your eye upon him and thank God for having at last placed us under his care and direction!"

Parry marries—1794

Parry's shipping losses, which followed the declaration of war with France, did not immediately reduce his fortune materially. The process was slow, and so in 1794 he was still comfortably off, and during that year, at the age of 26, he married a Mrs. Mary Pearce, widow of one Thomas Pearce and daughter of a civil servant named James West. Thomas

[1] *i.e.,* since 1793.

Pearce was a free merchant, and had been Sheriff of Madras in 1791.

By this marriage Parry had a son, John, and a daughter Betsy, or Eliza, but the climate of Madras was too much for Mrs. Parry and her children, and Parry had the mortification of shipping them all home in a serious state of health, John in 1805 and Mrs. Parry and Eliza in 1808, and both the children predeceased him. However, Parry in 1794, had some years of domestic happiness before him, though Mrs. Parry was never strong, and was, before the end of 1797, in the doctor's hands "afflicted with a train of nervous symptoms."

The entry of Parry's marriage in the register of St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, reads as follows:—

> "Thomas Parry Esqr. and Mrs. Mary Pearce, Widow, were married in St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, on the 28th day of April, 1794."

Journalism

Parry was ever on the look out for new enterprises, and in 1794 he, with four others, petitioned Government for permission to start a newspaper. Madras had been served since 1785 by the *Madras Courier*, the weekly already referred to, and of which the following account has been given:—

> "The first two pages were generally devoted to extracts from English papers, the third to letters to the Editor and Indian news, and the fourth to poetry and advertisements. Military intelligence naturally bulked largely, but items of general Madras news were only sparingly inserted."

It was no doubt to fill the latter deficiency, and to provide a weekly of rather more local interest, that Parry's application was made. Perhaps the idea of a periodical uninspired by Government and edited by free merchants was too much for Fort St. George. At any rate it was not considered to be in the public interest, and the request was refused.

Thomas Parry & Co. —1795

In the following year, 1795, Parry traded for the first time under the name of Thomas Parry & Co., and he must therefore have taken in a junior partner; though there is no record of his name, unless it was one George Garrow, who certainly was a partner in 1797, when the firm was called Parry Garrow & Co.

Some slight easing of the shipping situation was caused this year by the capture of the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch.

In 1796 Parry was appointed Secretary to the Carnatic Insurance Co., a salaried post which did not seem to interfere in any way with the working of his own private business. The first Insurance Company had been established in Madras in 1688, but it is not known how long it lasted, nor when the Carnatic Insurance Co. was founded. The latter Company managed to survive the difficult years of the French Wars from 1793 to 1810, when, as we have seen, French privateers based on Mauritius played such havoc with the Eastern trade, and it was still going strong in 1820.

The Carnatic Insurance Co., 1796

During this same year, Parry was also appointed Examiner to the Mayor's Court, and he referred to this and the Secretaryship of the Carnatic Insurance Company as "situations of respectability and emolument", which he had to resign later when he joined the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic.

The Mayor's Court, 1796

The Mayor's Court sat once a week in the Town Hall, or Court House, in Choultry Gate Street, Fort St. George, and tried all civil cases other than petty cases of below 5 pagodas in value. The Governor and

Council, as Justices of the Peace, formed the Court of Appeal from their decisions.

The Mayor's Court was presided over by judges who "pretended to no legal skill", and, if Examiner means attorney, the same may be said of some at least of the advocates.

The Court was merged in the Recorder's Court in 1798, and was abolished altogether on the formation of the Supreme Court of Judicature in 1802.

Parry's Castle, 1796

One way and another, Parry was managing to keep his head above water, and, in spite of the disappointing Charter, and his severe shipping losses, he was sufficiently well off in 1796 to purchase for himself a "garden house." This property, known then, and until 1837, as Parry's Castle, and now as Leith Castle, was built on the site of one of the old redoubts of San Thome Fort then in ruins. In an 1822 map the house appears as a circular fort, but later it became pentagonal, and probably no part of the original building now remains.

The land was acquired by Parry from a Col. Brathwaite, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Fort St. George, to whom it had been granted by the Com-

pany two years earlier. The Colonel's application to Fort St. George for the grant of this land read as follows:—

> "In the course of a ride I lately saw the remains of a ruined redoubt at the entrance of St. Thome river on the Madras side. It occurred to me that it was at present a useless and neglected spot, and that it was a pleasant and cool situation whereon to build a bungalow; and to that end, I had thoughts of applying to your honour in Council for a grant of the ruined redoubt and a portion of the ground, or rather sand, all around it, to prevent low people who might become troublesome neighbours from erecting their huts there. Previous, however, to taking this step, I addressed a letter to the Chief Engineer that I might not improperly give you trouble.
>
> I have now the honour to lay before you his answer and he states that the ground is the property of the Hon'ble Company, and that he sees no public inconvenience that can arise from my having a grant of it, I solicit of your honour in Council a grant of the redoubt, with so much circumjacent ground on all sides as it shall appear proper to you to include in the grant. John Brathwaite."

An area of 14½ acres was accordingly granted to Col. Brathwaite, and subsequently sold to Parry in 1796.

In the map dated 1822, this property was still marked "Mr. T. Parry's Castle", though he had ceased to live there some time before that date.

Capture of Ceylon, 1796

The Dutch had occupied the ports of Ceylon for the past 138 years; but, unfortunately for them, they were forced into an unwilling alliance with France in 1795, and when news of this reached India the following year, expeditions were at once sent to reduce Colombo and the other ports. Trincomalee had already been taken by the British in an earlier war, and now all the other ports, including Colombo, were taken. The small Dutch possession at Cochin was also attacked and captured after slight resistance.

The ports of Ceylon remained under the authority of the Madras Government until 1798, when the Island became a Crown Colony.

Parry, a few years later, opened up trading relations with Colombo and Trincomalee, and eventually had a branch business at the latter place.

Cochin, also, became later of great importance to Parry, for it was here that he developed his shipbuilding business, and, by 1820, was building "King's Ships" there for the Royal Navy.

The Nawab's Service

On the 23rd November, 1796, Parry resigned his appointments as Examiner to the Mayor's Court and Secretary to the Carnatic Insurance Company, in order to enter the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic as Captain, on a salary of 250 pagodas per month, equivalent to about £1,050 per annum. He worked in the Treasury and was in charge of collecting the kists.

The Nawab Omdat-ul-Omrah had succeeded his father, the notorious Nawab Wallajah, the previous year, and his financial affairs were in an extremely parlous state, with revenue uncollected and heavy debts due to the East India Company and to private individuals. This state of affairs was not only extremely embarrassing to the new Nawab, but was also, as we shall see later, the cause of much unpleasantness between Parry and the authorities at Fort St. George in the years to come.

The "Carnatic" was a dominion which extended over the districts now known as Nellore, North and South Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly, the town of Arcot being the capital. Aurangzeb, the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, had, in the seventeenth century, put Hyderabad under a Nizam and the Carnatic under a Nawab subordinate to the latter; but when the Moghul

Empire began to decay, the Nizam assumed independence, with the Nawab of the Carnatic as his vassal.

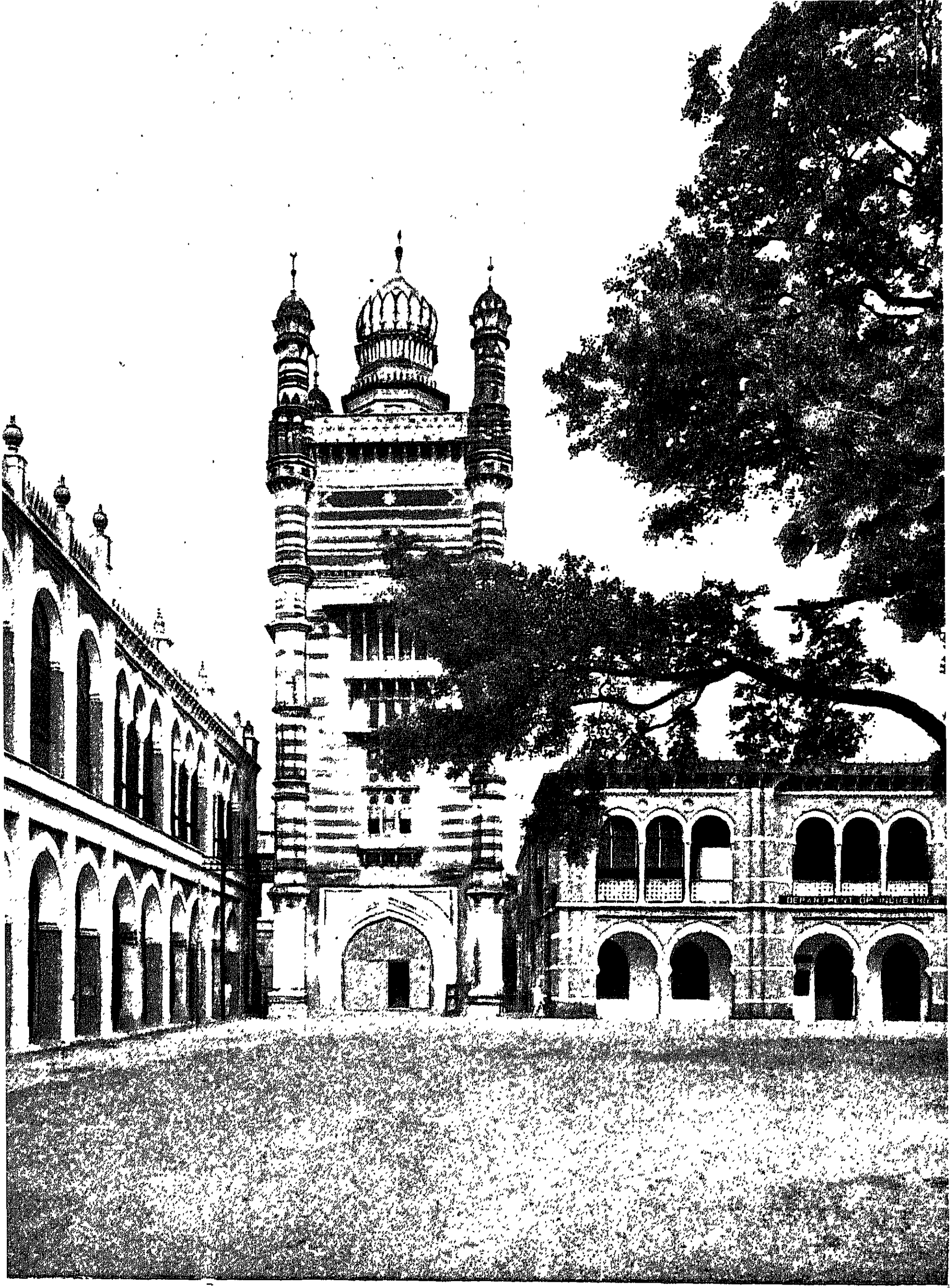
Later still, in Clive's time, the Nawab, with British support, had declared his own independence, and now reigned as an independent prince. But he had no army worthy of the name, and could not necessarily count on British help in the defence of his capital at Arcot; and with Haider Ali becoming more formidable, he sought and obtained permission to build a palace under the walls of Fort St. George. This building, the present Chepauk Palace, was accordingly erected in about 1771, and it was here that Parry worked when he joined the Nawab's service a quarter of a century later.

Omdat-ul-Omrah, like his father before him, had a large number of Europeans on his staff at Chepauk, and these included several physicians, four coachmen, eight bandsmen, a hair-dresser, and so on.

A contemporary of Parry's in the Nawab's service was another free merchant, John Binny, founder of the present firm of Binny & Co. (Madras), Ltd.

Parry Garrow & Co., 1797

Parry still continued his private business, which, from 1797 to 1800, was styled Parry Garrow & Co. His partner, George Garrow, was a young



CHEPAUK PALACE, THE CENTRE TOWER.

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civil servant of 1794, who later became a Secretary to the Board of Revenue and subsequently Collector of South Arcot, known then as "The Southern Districts of the Arcot Province." Later still, Garrow was Accountant-General, Madras, and on taking up this latter appointment in 1809, he purchased Pycroft's Gardens, Nungambaukam.

The Court of Requests, 1798

For the time being Parry seems to have been in Government's good graces and, in December, 1798, he was elected a Commissioner of the Court of Requests. This Court had been established in 1753 and normally sat once a week in Fort St. George.

It was junior to the Mayor's Court, and was "for the determination of Matters of property (that is of Debts, duties, or matters which shall not exceed the value of five Pagodas)." The Court, nevertheless, had power to imprison up to forty days.

Parry seems to have been most casual about taking up this appointment, and the following correspondence ensued:—

To Josiah Webbe, Esqr.,

Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners of the Court of Requests, to represent to you, that Mr. Thomas Parry, who was elected a Commissioner of the Court, in December last, and whose appointment met the approbation of Government, has refused to attend, when summoned, to take the Oath of qualification. They request, that his conduct be laid before Government, and desired that I would enclose to you extract of the General Letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors which relates to the subject.

I have the honour to be, &ca.,

Court of Request, GEO. COLEMAN,

21st March, 1799. Clerk.

On receipt of this letter the Secretary to Government addressed the following letter to Parry:—

To Thomas Parry.

Sir,

The Governor-General in Council has been surprised to understand, that you have refused to attend at the Court of Requests, to take the Oath of qualification of a Commissioner, though you

had been summoned to do so, in consequence of a resolution of Government.

I am therefore directed peremptorily to desire, that you attend to the summons of the Court of Requests, on every occasion, it may be communicated to you, and that you forthwith report to me your readiness to do so, for the information of Government.

I am, &ca.,
J. WEBBE,
Secy. to Government.

Fort St. George,
23rd March, 1799.

To which Parry replied:—

To Josiah Webbe, Esq.,
Secretary to Government,
Fort St. George.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant.

I beg you will do me the favour to inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that I shall attend at the Office of the Commissioners of the Court of Requests to take the Oath of Qualification as a Commissioner, on the next Court Day. The summons of the clerk requiring my attendance on a former occasion was presented

by Peon, who met me by accident[1] in the Fort, where I have not any office, and entirely escaped my recollection: had it been left at my house you should not have had the trouble of addressing me on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &ca.,

Madras, Thos. Parry.

24th March, 1799.

The Secretary to Government then addressed the Court of Requests:—

To George Coleman,

Clerk to the Court of Requests.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council to acquaint you for the information of the Commissioners of the Court of Requests that your future meetings are to be held at the house allotted to His Majesty's Justices of the Peace on such days as may not interfere with the sittings of the Justices.

In reply to your letter of the 21st instant, I am further directed to inform you that Mr. Thomas Parry has promised to be punctual in future to the duties of his Office as a Commissioner of the Court of Requests.

I am, &ca.,

Fort St. George, J. WEBBE,

30th March, 1799. Secy. to Government.

[1] An irritating habit, not entirely unknown even to-day.

It is not clear why the references throughout are to the Governor-*General*, but possibly the Commissioners were appointed by him and not by the local Government.

In 1799, Parry's salary was doubled by the Nawab and he drew 500 pagodas per month, or about £2,100 per annum; and so, with a handsome basic salary added to the profits of his own business, he was once again on the crest of the wave, and was, by the same token, an object of envy to the less fortunate covenanted servants. For though some of these latter may have had equal opportunities with Parry for private gain, their salaries, even in the higher appointments, were miserable pittances compared with his.

The last Mysore War, 1799

In May, 1798, Lord Mornington, better known by his later title of Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of the more famous Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, had assumed charge of the office of Governor-General.

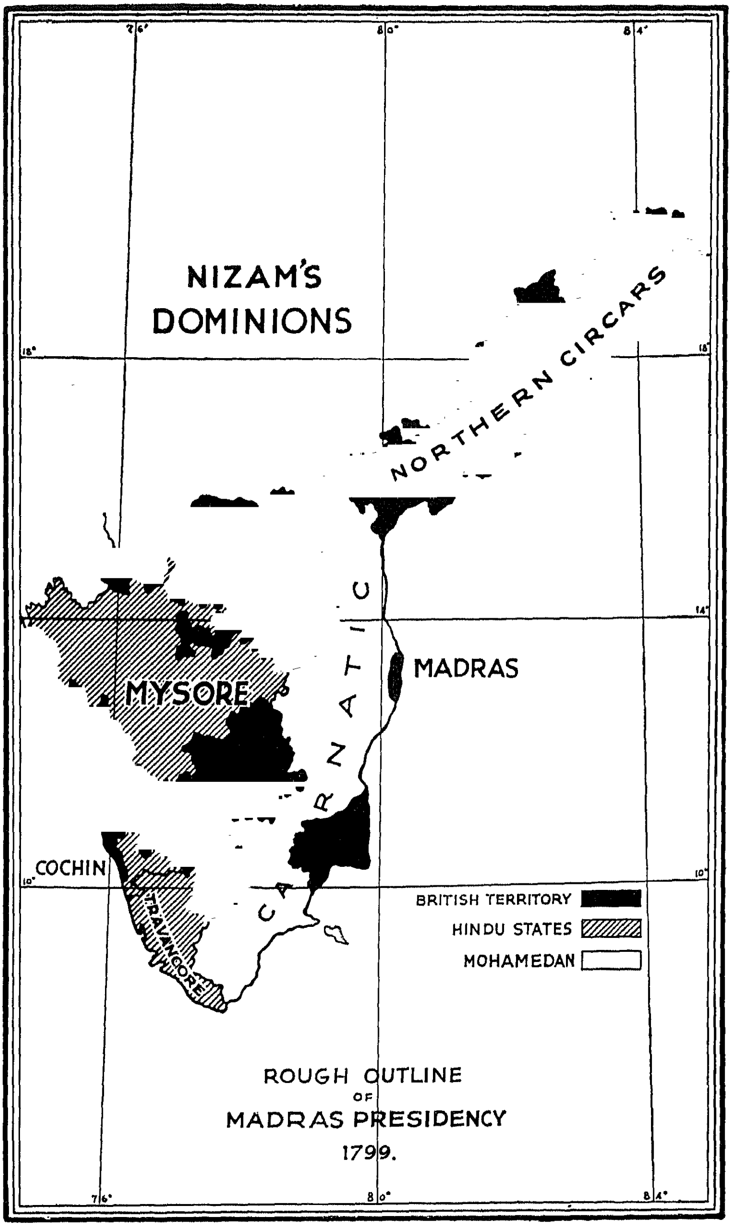
There had been a period of six years' peace in India as a result of the East India Company's policy of "non-intervention", but the political situation was far from good. Napoleon had led an expedition into

Egypt and openly declared his intention of conquering India. Nelson's great naval victory at the Battle of the Nile had successfully upset Bonaparte's immediate plans, but Tippoo, the Nizam and the Marathas were all still angling for French support against the British, and against each other.

Tippoo, in particular, seems to have given trouble in this respect, and, in February, 1799, war was declared on him. The second Lord Clive was then Governor of Madras, and the Marquis Wellesley took this action against his advice.

However, the Madras Army of 37,000 men, under command of General George Harris, later Lord Harris, great-grandfather of the famous cricketer, crossed the frontier of Mysore on March 5th, and stormed Seringapatam on May 4th. The whole campaign was over in two months. Tippoo was killed and his sons captured and interned at Vellore.

This war resulted in a further considerable accession of territory to the East India Company, and in October, 1799, the small Maratha principality of Tanjore was annexed as a result of a disputed succession.



NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
NORTHERN CIRCARS
CARNATIC
MADRAS
MYSORE
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
BRITISH TERRITORY
HINDU STATES
MOHAMEDAN
ROUGH OUTLINE OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY 1799.
76°
80°
84°
18°
14°
10°

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Changing Times

This brings us to the close of the 18th and the opening of the 19th centuries, a period which was accompanied by many far-reaching changes so far as Madras was concerned—changes which served to increase rather than to lessen the official irritation against the free merchants.

Firstly, the fourth and last Mysore war had, as we have seen, resulted in large tracts of territory being brought under British rule or control.

Secondly, the Nawab of the Carnatic, Omdat-ul-Omrah, died in 1801, and the whole of the Carnatic was annexed.

Thirdly, Lord Cornwallis's reforms had been extended to Madras, including the separation of the functions of the District Collector and Judge, and the organisation of "writers and merchants" into an administrative Civil Service.

The 1773 and 1793 Regulating Acts had both prohibited private trading on the part of the East India Company's servants, but the relevant sections of these Acts had not yet been enforced at the Madras Presidency, and only quite recently in Bengal and Bombay.

All private trading on the part of the East India Company's servants at Madras was now strictly prohi-

bited, and their official salaries were considerably increased. Government servants were allowed 15 days in which to make up their minds, and four months in which to close their private trading transactions if they decided to remain in the service—a ruling which gave rise to considerable resentment.

James Brodie, builder of the beautiful Brodie Castle on the Adyar River, then garrison storekeeper at Madras, and senior partner in one of the largest merchant houses in the city, wrote of this order on the 6th June, 1800, to one William Scott of Calcutta:—

> "The Bara Saib has played the devil with me and others lately by making us give up either our appointments in the Service or our concern in business, for we have been many years connected in that way with the perfect concurrence of former Governments. It, of course, involves us in responsibility which certainly requires a liberal period to get rid of—4 months is allowed. Had it been four years it would not have been too much for some. At all events it seems to me that we should have had sufficient time allowed us to consult with our constituents and friends at home on a matter of so much importance. As orders now stand we all mean to abide by the service excepting Mr. Cochrane who would, by following our example,

lose his agency for supplying the Navy, which is a more lucrative situation than any the Service on this Coast can hold out."

Another important result of these reforms was that the Sea Customs, which had for years been situated just inside the Sea Gate of Fort St. George, was moved to a site in First Line Beach, and all buildings in the Fort were acquired by Government for use by their civil and military servants. Free merchants, who owned considerable property inside the Fort, were, much to their disgust, told to fend for themselves outside the walls, and thus began the migration of the business centre of Madras to George Town.

4

1800—1805

Parry is banished, 1800—Parry & Lane, 1801—Parry's Corner, 1803—The Maratha War, 1803—Parry's tannery, 1805—The Battle of Trafalgar, 1805—Interest rates—John Parry sent Home, 1805—Parry's portrait—Another small fortune—Parry's private account, 1803—1805.

4

1800—1805.

Parry is banished: 1800

Parry must have entered the nineteenth century with high hopes. Free merchants were, he may well have thought, to have things more their own way; the Company's servants were no longer to compete with them; the new territories now under the control of the Company would flourish, and trade would prosper.

He himself, with a salary of £2,100 per year from the Nawab added to the profits of his private business, was once again doing well. He was still only 32, and surely another year or two in Madras would see him home to England with an adequate fortune.

But three unexpected things happened, and it was not long before Parry's hopes of an early return to England were for a second time dashed to the ground.

Firstly, when the Nawab Omdat-ul-Omrah died and the Carnatic was annexed by the East India Company, Parry's post at Chepauk Palace came to an end. Not only that, but he had received no salary for three years, and with the Nawab's estate hopelessly involved it appeared long odds against his ever making any recovery of his dues. Actually, he did eventually recover the whole of his salary, but not until thirteen years later, and then only with simple interest at 6%. Why Parry, who worked in the Nawab's Treasury, failed to draw his salary for so long a period it is difficult to understand, except that the Treasury was, more often than not, empty.

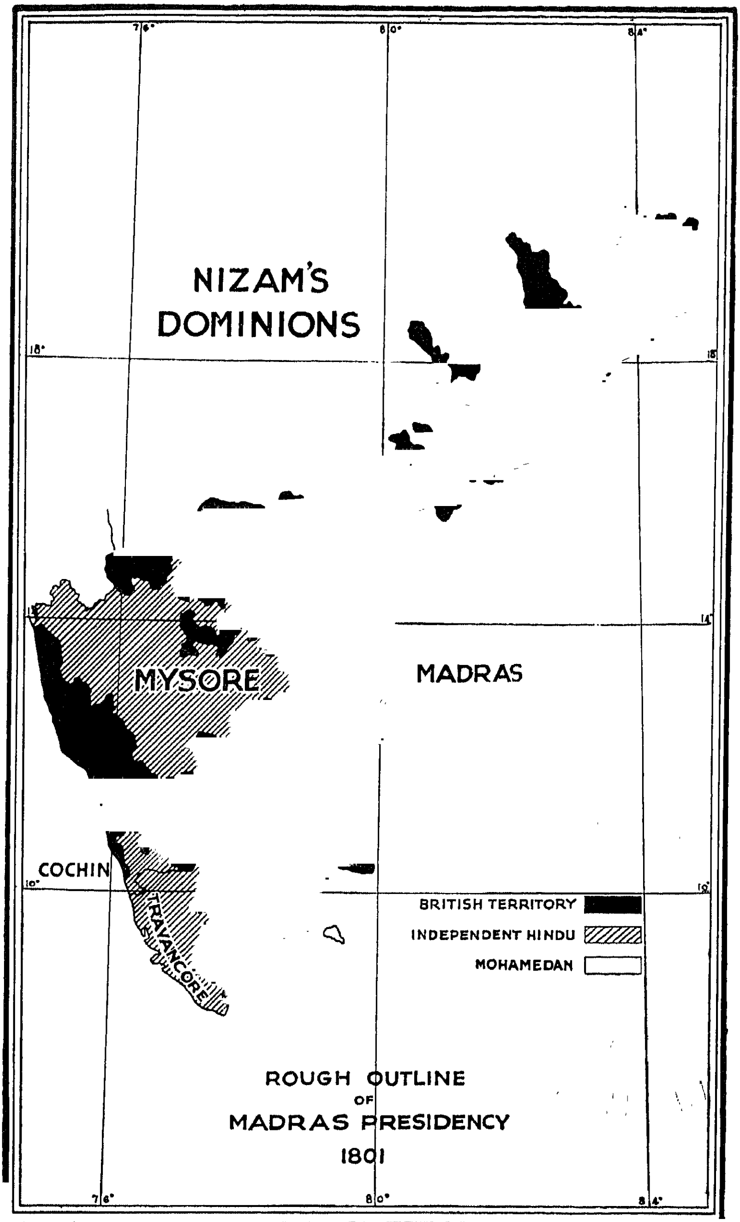
Secondly, Parry's partner, George Garrow, elected, when the time came, to remain in the covenanted service, and so his partnership with Parry had to be dissolved.

Thirdly—and this was for Parry the last straw—on the 20th May, 1800, he received the following communication from Fort St. George:—

To Mr. Thomas Parry.

Sir,

The nature of your engagements with His Highness the Nawab having been stated by the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council to the Hon'ble



NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
MYSORE
MADRAS
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
BRITISH TERRITORY
INDEPENDENT HINDU
MOHAMEDAN
ROUGH OUTLINE OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY 1801

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Court of Directors, the Hon'ble Court have judged it expedient to withdraw from you the protection of the Company, and further to direct that you shall repair to Great Britain by one of the ships of the ensuing season: you are therefore hereby directed to proceed to Great Britain accordingly.

By Order,

Sd. G.,

Sub-Secretary.

Fort St. George,
Dated the 20th May, 1800.

Parry was obviously expected to know what part of his engagements with His Highness the Nawab had given offence at Fort St. George, and perhaps he did; but it was clearly indefensible that such serious action should have been taken against an individual without giving him an opportunity of meeting any charge which might be made against him.

Parry, of course, thought so too, and two days after receipt of the letter from Fort St. George he addressed the following, rather verbose, but, on the face of it, not unreasonable letter to the Governor of Madras, then the second Lord Clive. The rather breathless punctuation of this letter is worth noting.

The Right Hon'ble Lord Clive,
Governor in Council,
Fort St. George.

My Lord,

By a letter from your Secretary, under date the 20th instant, I have received the unpleasant information, that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors had been pleased to withdraw their protection from me, and had directed that I should proceed to Great Britain by the ships of the ensuing season, and that they have been induced to adopt so decisive a measure on the foundation of a statement previously submitted to them from this Country, under the authority of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council suggesting some intelligence of my having entered into engagements with His Highness the Nawab, incompatible with my residence in India for Commercial purposes.

I not only entertain a proper sense of the candour which your Lordship has thus manifested, in fairly and liberally apprizing me of the substance of the Offence, which is declared, as the ostensible cause of my intended removal from India, but, I have the firmest confidence, from this dignified conduct, that your Lordship will direct, on this, my earnest application, that I be furnished as soon as convenient, with the particulars of such information or proof, as gave rise to the statement

which has been transmitted by Government to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

Satisfied of the integrity of your Lordship's character, I need not set forth any other claim to the documents, which I request, than by adding, that I am an entire and utter stranger to all that has hitherto passed between the Government of Fort St. George and the Hon'ble Court of Directors, on a subject in which my present interests, and future views, are so deeply implicated and involved, and that I have neither been questioned nor heard, where my fortune, character, and prospects are all at stake.

I shall take the liberty to observe, merely, that a body of men, even the most honourable, may, by interested details of malicious reports, be inclined to credit at the instant, what on fuller information, and cooler enquiry they may ultimately disown, and condemn. The nobleness of your Lordship's nature will not, I am sure, permit you to think because I have chanced to be accused, that I can have no possible means of asserting my innocence, when I repeat, my Lord, that I know not why I have been accused, nor by whom, nor to what extent; and that I have had no opportunity to meet, or repel the charge exhibited against me.

I have the fullest reliance on your Lordship's justice and honour to supply me with the particulars which I have solicited; in order that I may

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remove not only those impressions which have been made to my prejudice and danger here, but which have in another quarter created an opinion equally terrible and alarming.

Furnished with the Papers to which I have alluded, I shall have no doubt but that I can clearly and satisfactorily show that there exist no possible grounds for the accusation which has been made against me, and, if I am able to make known to your Lordship that the information which has been received, and adopted, to my disadvantage is fallacious and unfounded, I may look with a well grounded hope that your Lordship, in the discretion with which you are so wisely and prudently invested, will be pleased to forward such explanations which I may be able to adduce to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and to suspend the execution of the orders received from England, until your Lordship be further advised on the subject.

If, on the explanation which I may offer to your Lordship, you should not, unfortunately, feel yourself authorised to interfere so decidedly as my wishes have anticipated, I have no doubt but that adverting to the hardship of my case, that I have been called from a country in which I have had large and extensive mercantile concerns, for a number of years, with important subsisting engagements with the Commissioners on the Malabar

Coast, of which your Lordship is fully informed, which have induced numerous multifarious accounts, and that I have been accused, judged and condemned without a show of hearing, or the semblance of a defence, I cannot doubt, My Lord, in such a case and under such circumstances, that your Lordship will afford me ample and sufficient time for the adjustment of my affairs, though it should exceed the strict conditions of the Covenant which I have entered into with the Hon'ble Company.

Whatever eventually may be your Lordship's determination, I am not insensible of the situation in which I am placed, and shall submit to it with deference and respect.

I have the honour to be, etc.

Madras, Thomas Parry.

22nd May, 1800.

But Parry was not to be allowed an opportunity of defending himself, and, a week later, he received the following communication from the Secretary to Government:—

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 22nd instant.

The Hon'ble the Court of Directors having been pleased to withdraw their protection from you and to resolve that you shall proceed to Europe

by the ships of this season without requiring any further explanation of the facts on which those orders are founded, the Governor in Council is not at liberty to relax from the execution of them, or to frustrate the intentions of the Court by instituting a subordinate enquiry in this Country. I am, therefore, commanded to acquaint you that His Lordship can neither furnish you with the papers, for which you have made application, nor depart from the obvious instructions of the Hon'ble Court by permitting you to remain at the Presidency.

Fort St. George, I am, etc. etc.,
29th May, 1800. J. Webbe,
Secretary to Government.

We may now move behind the scenes and study the sequence of events which had led up to this peremptory order of banishment, and may draw our own conclusions as to the rights and wrongs of the case from the facts here stated.

It must first be noted that the lending of money by private individuals to Indian Princes, many of whom were already heavily indebted to the East India Company, had for some years been a source of great embarrassment to Government; and in order to put a stop to this practice the Court of Directors, had, in 1795, given their Local Governments power to banish

individuals guilty of raising and making such loans, and, with doubtful wisdom, had extended these powers to cover cases of suspicion only. It must be noted, too, that, according to Dunbar's *History of India,* some of the creditors to whom the Carnatic revenues had been mortgaged were actually members of the Madras Council.

This was the position when, on the 3rd April, 1798, two years before Parry's banishment, the Acting Governor of Madras, Lieutenant-General George Harris, considered in Council a letter dated the 13th February addressed to him by a Captain Robert Powney, late of the Nawab's service.

In his letter Captain Powney stated he was now retiring to England, but that, during recent years, he had been guilty of raising loans for the Nawab, accepting as security the revenues of the whole of the Tinnevelly Province. Note that Powney was retiring to England, and that the East India Company could therefore take no effective steps against him.

He added that Thomas Parry, his successor in office under the Nawab, was now doing the same thing, or at least he concluded that he was, "from the declaration of the servants of Mr. Thomas Parry."

This hardly seems a sound basis on which to frame

such a charge, but it appears to have satisfied the Madras Government who, without further ado, wrote to London on the 15th October, 1798, representing Powney's accusations against Parry as facts.

On the 31st October, 1799, London replied to this communication, and directed that "the Company's protection be withdrawn from Messrs. Robert Powney and Thomas Parry and that they be required to repair to Europe by one of the ships of the ensuing season."

Captain Robert Powney had, of course, long since retired to England with his fortune, or he would never have admitted his guilt, but the Directors' order in respect of Parry was at once communicated to him in the letter dated the 20th May, 1800, reproduced above. This, it will be noted, was two years after Powney's original denunciation of Parry.

Parry wrote his long letter of protest two days later, which was duly forwarded to London, and, on the 23rd September, 1801, the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor in Council:—"If you had any reason for doubting the truth of the circumstances mentioned, the same ought to have been stated to us."

To this, Fort St. George replied in 1802 that "not having any reason to disbelieve the assertions of Mr. Powney the Governor in Council represented them as facts." And they went on to add that, "the Board

still retaining the conviction of the delinquency of Mr. Parry deem it to be unnecessary to enter into further investigation of the facts."

Replying to this on the 15th August, 1804, the Court of Directors wrote:—

> "From what is stated in your minute of consultation, 13th July, 1802, it is not our intention that our orders of the 31st October, 1799, respecting Mr. Thomas Parry should be carried into execution so long as he shall continue to conduct himself to your entire satisfaction."

This final letter from the Court of Directors reached Madras seven years after Captain Powney's first letter to Fort St. George, during which period only three communications had passed each way between Madras and London; and so the matter was brought to rest. But, in view of subsequent happenings, it is worth noting that the final ruling of the Court of Directors was so worded that it left the local Government with power to banish Parry at any time in the future without assigning any reason.

That Fort St. George was not slow to use that power when occasion arose will be seen in a later chapter.

Fleets for England normally left Madras roads some time in October before the N. E. Monsoon became

too strong. They could not leave earlier without the risk of meeting the S. W. Monsoon on rounding the south coast of Ceylon. The order instructing Parry to proceed to England by one of the ships of the ensuing fleet reached him, as we have seen, in May, and could not therefore have been complied with until several months later.

But Parry never did comply with it, and that Fort St. George made no effort to enforce it seems to confirm the view that they did not consider their case would bear close investigation, which, of course, is not to say that Parry was innocent.

Parry & Lane, 1801

And so Parry remained in Madras, and when, in 1801, he was left by Garrow, he soon found another partner in the person of a Mr. John King Lane, and traded from the 1st January of that year under the name of Parry & Lane. Each partner put 10,000 pagodas (Rs. 35,000) capital, or stock, as it was called, into the firm, and this was increased in later years as profits accumulated. A year had elapsed since Parry had been ordered home to England, but the fact that the order of banishment was still hanging over his head must have put a curb on his business activities. The Parry & Lane partnership followed

immediately on the exodus of the free merchants from the Fort, already recorded.

Parry's Corner: 1803

At first the firm had temporary offices in George Town, but in 1803 they purchased part of the site at the south corner of First Line Beach on which Parry's Buildings now stand, and which has belonged to the firm ever since.

The extent of the land originally purchased is described as:—

182 ft. N—S.
72 ft. E—W (North end)
52 ft. 9 in E—W (South end).

This area would cover rather less than one quarter of the site now owned by the firm.

The main part of the premises now occupied by Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd. was built very soon after that date, the spacious verandahs in front of the older part of the building belonging to an age when landed property in George Town was of much less value than today.

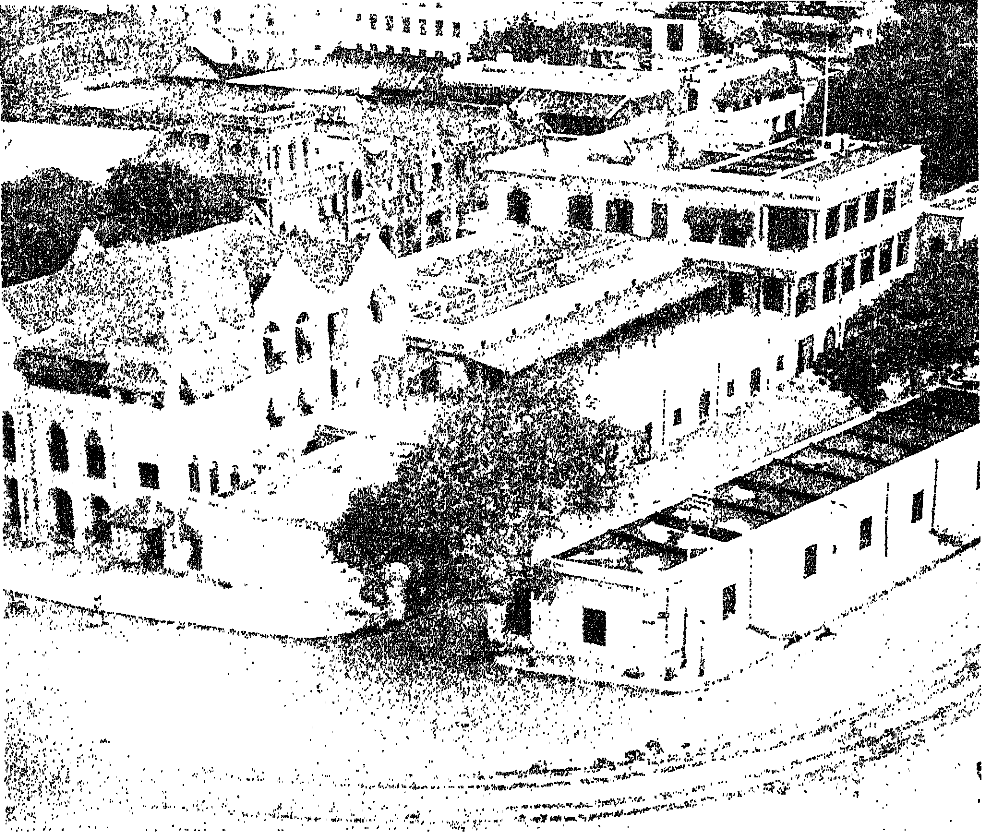
These premises were built on a road lapped on the other side by the waves of the Bay of Bengal long before the building of the South Groyne of the harbour had produced the present sand accretion. What was

then First Line Beach, and is still known by that name, is now separated from the sea by three quarters of a mile of foreshore containing the railway sidings, houses, godowns, oil tanks, etc., of the Port Trust premises.

The following extract from a private letter written by Parry in 1807 on the day following a severe cyclone in Madras, well illustrates the proximity of this site to the sea in those days. After explaining that he thought himself "fortunate in being alive to write", he adds:—

> "The surf broke over the ramparts of the Fort and so high that the Coffee Room at the Exchange[1] was filled with salt water. It gained so much on the Black Town that it came up into the verandah of the new houses on the Beach. All the works in the front of the Custom House are blown up. A part of the foundation of the verandah of the Naval Office gave way, and the south end of the verandah fell in. Harrington's house was nearly gone, when the Gale luckily abated; the whole of the foundation is exposed. All the front line of the Banksalls is destroyed and the property on them carried away by the sea. Clive's Battery is rendered useless. Every tiled house in the place unroofed in some degree and numbers of people

[1] This building is now the Officers' Mess of the Regiment stationed in the Fort.



AERIAL VIEW OF PARRY'S CORNER.
Lawyers' Block on the left. Old Block in rear with flagstaff.

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killed. Scarcely a building that has not suffered in doors and windows.

Our buildings on the Beach have been damaged but not much. The sea carried away the end of one godown with some of the Company's rice.

You would be distressed to witness the wreck of our friend Doctor Anderson's Gardens—all his fine mango trees have suffered and many of them are entirely destroyed."

The actual site of Parry's Buildings is said to be the position where the French General, Count de Lally, placed a battery of guns when the French attacked Fort St. George in 1759.

The premises must originally have been two-storeyed, the bottom storey being used as godowns and strong rooms, and possibly also offices for clerks, whilst the second storey was where the partners in the firm worked and, probably, at times also lived. The third storey was built at the end of the American Civil War in 1864. The then senior partner of the firm, foreseeing a shortage of cotton in America, cornered, as far as he was able, the South Indian crop, and was able to make a fortune by his foresight, part of which he expended in the building of an extra storey of private residential quarters higher up to get full advantage of the sea breezes.

The remains of an old brass telescope on a stand still exist on the verandah of the top storey, and within the memory of the present senior director, it was customary to use this telescope to read the signals being made by ships in the Harbour. Trees and buildings now entirely obscure any view of the shipping either at moorings or alongside the Harbour wharves.

In 1897 the small set of buildings facing the High Court was built at the request of a leading Madras lawyer, Mr. Eardley Norton. This block was erected expressly to provide chambers for barristers and solicitors, but unfortunately the then partners of the firm must have been entirely lacking in any artistic sense, as the architecture and design of the buildings is entirely different from the rest of the block. The whole of the premises are now required to provide office accommodation for the Company's staff, but the buildings on the southern portion of the site have now been dismantled and a modern six-storeyed office building is being erected in their place.

The Maratha War: 1803

War was declared on the Marathas on August 3rd, 1803, and the campaign was entrusted to Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of

Wellington. He won the battle of Assaye on the 23rd September, but the war was not finally ended until 1806.

Arthur Wellesley was only one year Parry's junior, having been born in 1769, and he first arrived in Madras in 1796, where he served off and on until 1803.

Parry, therefore, knew something of him at first hand, if not personally, and when in 1809 Parry heard that Col. (by then Sir) Arthur Wellesley had resigned his military appointment in Portugal and had returned to England, he wrote to his friend Col. Bannerman on the board of directors of the East India Co.:—

> "When you can spare Sir A. Wellesley you had better send him to India,—there is still a great deal to be done here, and he is so general a favourite, that he is more likely to give satisfaction than any other person in His Majesty's Service. He, of course, would not come out unless he were appointed Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief."

Parry was no bad judge of character, and General Sir Arthur Wellesley was of course soon returned to the Peninsula as Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces.

It was during the following year, 1805, that Parry's order of banishment in 1800 was withdrawn.

Parry's tannery: 1805

In order to appreciate the conditions under which Parry endeavoured to build up industries in Madras, it is necessary to record some of the difficulties under which he and other free merchants laboured.

India, when he arrived in 1788, had been an industrial country of some importance, and she then shipped her manufactured articles to many parts of the world. By 1805, however, this trade had, owing to some extent to the introduction of the power loom and the use of steam generally in Europe, practically ceased; a result which had been considerably accelerated by the imposition of heavy protective duties at home, together with the collection of inland duties in India.

Quite apart, however, from the British tariff, the whole of the continent of Europe had been closed by Napoleon to all enemy trade, and Indian goods came under that category.

Inland duties in India were applied to no less than 235 separate articles, the tariff including almost everything of personal or domestic use, and in order to understand how these duties operated to deny the manufactures of India even an internal market, we

may here consider the application of the tariff to two important local industries, namely, weaving and tanning.

Raw cotton paid a duty of 5% on changing hands; when it was spun into yarn, a further 7½% was collected; if the yarn were woven into cloth another duty of 2½% was imposed, and finally, if the cloth were dyed, an additional duty of 2½% was collected.

As regards tanning: a raw hide paid 5% duty; on being manufactured into leather, it paid 5% more; and if made into boots and shoes, a further duty of 5% was collected.

No doubt this accounts for the fact that the majority of the free merchants of those days left industry severely alone, but Parry seems always to have taken a different view, and it is on record that he, again and again, made efforts to inaugurate useful industries in Madras. Working as he had to do against these odds, it is not surprising that he was not uniformly successful, and the only industry he left thoroughly well established at the time of his death was a tannery which he founded in San Thome in 1805, "the first", he said, "to be started at Madras."

This tannery seems to have gone ahead fairly rapidly, and within a year, 350 workmen, including ten

young apprentices from the Male Asylum, were employed there.

At this tannery Parry made all kinds of leather goods, but his staple line was boots and accoutrements for the East India Company's troops, and for the British Army and Navy.

To augment his local supply of raw hides, Parry purchased from Penang, Colombo and the Cape, and he sent his tanned leather goods to the Straits, to Australia, to the Cape, to England and to the United States, and appears to have worked up a profitable business.

It is not known exactly where in San Thome this tannery was situated, but it is more than probable Parry made use of part of the 14½ acres of land which he had purchased in 1796 with Parry's Castle. In that case, the works were situated to the south of San Thome between the sea and the Adyar Road. The bungalow referred to in Parry's Will as forming part of the tannery property was, therefore, almost certainly Parry's Castle itself. If so, one can well imagine Parry having ceased to live at the Castle as soon as he could afford to purchase another house away from the stench of the tannery. For those interested in the details of this enterprise, an account is given in Part II compiled

mainly from Parry's own letters during the years 1806 to 1809.

The Battle of Trafalgar: 1805

Nelson had, on October 21st, 1805, defeated the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, and news of this reached Madras in February, 1806. Parry wrote at the time:—

> "The news from the Continent is dreadful and I am fearful that we shall soon hear of the Arch Duke Charles' defeat also. This, however, is in some measure balanced by the glorious victory over the combined fleet by the immortal Nelson, which puts it completely out of the power of the enemy to annoy us at sea during the present contest."

A correct appreciation of the situation, and it is interesting to note that immediately Parry heard of Nelson's victory and death at Trafalgar, he dubbed him "immortal." Nelson had, however, been a national hero ever since the Battle of Nile.

Interest rates

We have previously noted that Agency Houses charged 12% interest on loans, and have pointed out that this, in view of the high rates at which Government were borrowers, was not excessive. Rates

still ruled high in 1805, and Parry wrote of a new Government loan issued then:—

> "The new Government ten per cent. loan falls heavy on all Agency Houses and occasions a great demand for money; as it is supposed that another loan will not be required by Government for a long time, everybody is anxious to subscribe to that now open."

John Parry sent Home: 1805

The following entry appears in Parry's private account under date the 8th February, 1805:—

"Paid for passage of little John in the ship *Sanson* Pgs. 100-0-0."

John had apparently never been strong, and as his grandmother, Mrs. West, was proceeding home to England, having recently lost her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Parry took the opportunity of sending John home under her protection. It is interesting to note that whereas John Parry's passage cost £35, that of Mrs. Parry and Eliza only three years later cost no less than £800.

Parry made a fixed allowance to Mrs. West for John's upkeep, but arranged that she could draw any further sums she might consider necessary. To this end he had written to his London Agents:—

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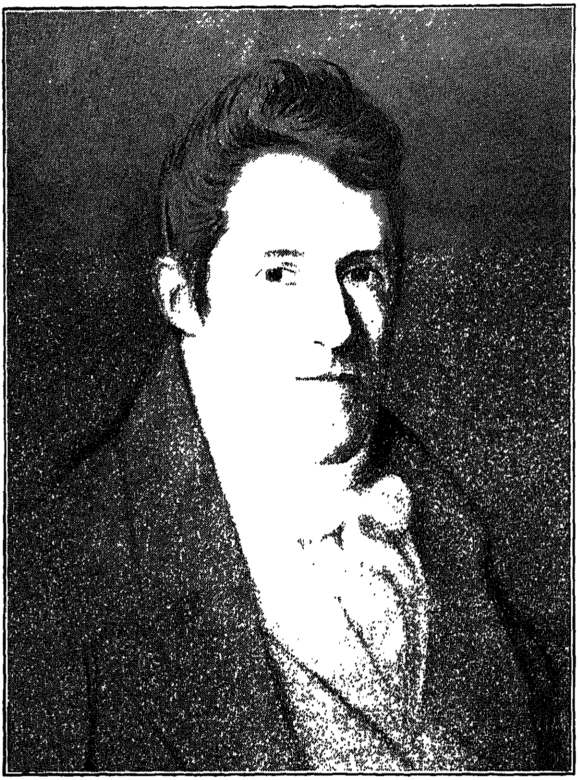

THOMAS PARRY, ABOUT 1805.

Reproduced from a coloured crayon drawing in the possession of Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd., Madras.

"Let me beg of you to let Mrs. West have whatever money she may require on account of our poor little boy. It is by no means my wish that she should be confined to a fixed sum."

Parry's portrait

It was probably at about this time that Parry's portrait, which is reproduced opposite, was drawn. However that may be, he did send a drawing of himself home some time in 1806, and, on the 8th July that year he wrote to his brother-in-law, Gilbert Ross:—

"By our old friend Innes, who left this in the February Fleet, I sent a small portrait of myself in pencil for my mother, which I request you will deliver to her. It is supposed to be very like. You will see that time has made sad havoc with me. The last year has done more than all the rest!"

Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd., are perhaps unique in possessing a portrait of every senior partner of the firm during its long history of 150 years, and of several of the junior partners as well.

These pictures—a total of 21—are hung round the walls of the senior director's room in Madras, and the collection has long been known by the assistants in the firm as "the Rogues' Gallery."

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Another small fortune: 1805

Parry had by 1805 gradually lived down the circumstances which had led to his banishment in 1800, and his business was not only re-established, but he himself was again the possessor of a small fortune. He had been 17 years in Madras and was 37 years old, and, as subsequent events proved, and as he himself later realised, he would have been well advised to have closed down then and retired to England. But he wanted just that little extra, and he allowed the chance to slip by. As he himself later wrote:—

> "Had I left off business in 1805 I should long since have had means of going home with a sufficiency to support myself and family in a manner suitable to my wishes, which are not, nor ever were extravagant. But we never know what is for the best till it is too late."

We shall see in the following chapter how quickly it was to become "too late."

Parry's private account: 1803—1805

Further extracts from Parry's personal account, this time for the years 1803 to 1805, are here given. The accounts were still kept in

pagodas, fanams and cash; the pagoda, it will be recollected, being the equivalent of about Rs. 3-8-0:—

Debits:

			Pags.	F.	C.
1803.					
Mar.	1	To his share of capital in the firm of Parry & Lane ...	10,000	0	0
Apr.	2	To his subscription for a Poor Woman ...	10	0	0
Apr.	5	To D. Johnston for Mr. West's Tombstone ...	59	0	0
		To paid for house rent ...	40	0	0
June	7	To Binny & Co., for half a Pipe of Wine ...	67	22	40
		Paid Palanquin Bearers ...	8	0	0
		Paid Carpenter for Chairs ...	18	0	0
June	29	Paid Mr. Hawkes for a Pegu Horse ...	80	0	0
Aug.	6	Paid Foncesca for Silver Hinges for a Box ...	6	22	40
Aug.	13	Paid for Water for six months	3	19	10
Aug.	25	Paid for 3 pieces of Cambrick	3	0	0
Aug.	27	Paid for 3 pieces of Selampores	3	0	0
Sept.	8	Paid for half a Pipe of Port Wine ...	20	0	0
Oct.	29	To J. Talbot for repairing a Pianoforte ...	40	0	0
1804.					
Jany.	19	Paid Mr. Jones' Coachman ...	5	0	0
Jany.	25	Paid Latour & Co., for 2 dozen of French Claret ...	10	0	0
Feby.	13	Paid Mr. Hawkes for a pair of Boots ...	6	0	0
Feby.	15	Paid for a Pianoforte ...	100	0	0
Feby.	29	Paid Hairdresser ...	0	6	0
May	22	Paid for a gold lace Killet ...	12	0	0
June	11	Paid subscription for erecting a Column to Lord Wellesley ...	50	0	0

1804.		*Debits.*	Pags.	F.	C.
June	29	Paid Subscription for a fencible Corps ...	6	0	0
Sept.	17	Paid for a Trichinopoly Harness	12	0	0
Sept.	19	Paid Gardeners' pay for August	5	22	40
1805.					
Jany.	17	Paid B. Roebuck for the subscription of the Horse Race ...	10	0	0
Feby.	7	Paid for Passage of little John in the Ship *Sanson* ...	100	0	0
		Paid passage for a letter to Gilbert Ross for London by overland ...	3	22	40
Feby.	8	Paid Native Hospital Subscription for the year 1804 ...	15	0	0
Feby.	9	Paid Gordon & Co., for repairing a Silver Watch ...	4	12	0
Feby.	13	Paid Hoare & Co., for a Pair of Boots ...	5	0	0

5

1806—1808

Parry Neill & Co., 1806—Trincomalee—The Vellore Mutiny, 1806—Trade depression—David Pugh—More shipping losses—South Arcot—The depression continues, 1807—The General Wellesley—A Pearl Island—Parry's family sails for England—Parry's projected trip to England —The Travancore Rising, 1808—Parry Neill & Co., partnership ends—More trouble in store—Parry's private account, 1806.

5

1806—1808

Parry Neill & Co., 1806

In 1806, Parry's partner, J. K. Lane, was appointed Cashier to the Government Bank at Madras, and his partnership with Parry was dissolved. In his place Parry joined forces with a Trincomalee firm called Neill and Gibbons, under the name and style of Parry Neill & Co., Parry receiving half the profits of both Houses, and the other two partners a quarter each.

John Neill, the senior partner of the Trincomalee firm, decided to go Home towards the end of 1806, and it was arranged that he should retain his full share of profits during his absence. Parry agreed to this, though it appears to have been an unusual arrangement, and when Neill began to worry over another small

matter in connection with the partnership Parry wrote to him:—

> "You are a man of large property and you will be receiving during the time you are at home your proportion of profits, whilst the whole of the labour will be upon us. This is seldom the case in mercantile houses in India; The partner going home generally relinquishes the half of his interest to those who conduct the business during his absence.
>
> I have not made this stipulation with you because I wish all our arrangements to be upon the most liberal footing."

Trincomalee

It will be recollected that the Ports of Ceylon had been captured from the Dutch in 1796, and Trincomalee had now become a naval base and an important port of call for vessels in the Eastern trade. Messrs. Neill and Gibbons had been appointed suppliers to the Navy at that port, and this promised to become a source of considerable profit to the new partnership. Parry had strong views as to the value of Trincomalee as a naval base, and was very dissatisfied with the manner in which the authorities had neglected its fortifications. On this subject he wrote:—

"The harbour of Trincomalee is by far the best in this part of the world, yet, notwithstanding the possession of it was so long and so anxiously desired by our Government, no steps have been taken to put it in a proper state. If ever the enemy should have a superior fleet in India, Trincomalee would be an object of the first importance to the party in possession of it, and it therefore ought to be put, and it might be done at a trifling expense, in a complete state of defence."

Parry was convinced that Trincomalee would sooner rather than later be a place of great importance, and it struck him that the purchase of land there would probably prove a useful investment. Accordingly, on hearing a rumour that fortifications were to be started at the end of 1807, he wrote to his partner, A. T. Gibbons at Trincomalee:—

"Bagshaw writes me that all General Bridge's plans regarding the fortifications, etc., at Trincomalee have been approved of and are to be carried into effect—is it so? and what are the motives of his plans, and when does he commence his operations? If the town is to be built in the valley beyond Omaburg Hills, it may be well to make a purchase of some Ground which I suppose may now be had for a trifle."

The Vellore Mutiny: 1806

On 10th July 1806 there occurred the tragic mutiny at Vellore, which resulted in the death of fourteen British officers and of two companies of British troops. In the light of history there seems no doubt that the mutiny was directly due to the passing of stupid orders by the local Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Craddock, with the sanction and approval of the Governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck. These orders required the Indian troops to wear a new style of turban, to train their beards in a particular way, and to abstain from putting caste marks on their foreheads. Trouble was, of course, very soon brewing, and the cry went round that forcible conversion to Christianity was to be the next step. An inevitable mutiny followed, but was quickly subdued by troops from Arcot, though not without further serious loss of life.

Tippoo's sons, who were prisoners at Vellore, were suspected of complicity and were moved to Calcutta. Parry, in the first place, not unnaturally believed this report, which has never really been substantiated, and, on the 14th July, 1806, he wrote:—

> "Government have appointed Commissioners to enquire into the horrible affairs at Vellore. The gentlemen appointed are General Pater, Col. Dodsworth, Mr. Ogilvie, Mr. N. Webb and Major Douse and Col. Leith, Secretary.

Sultan Moin-ud-deen and (no doubt) all Tippoo's family are concerned in the business. The flag of the Sultan was flying on the Garrison flag staff for five hours.

It was their intention to have proceeded to Bangalore immediately, and it is said they expected to be joined by large parties on the way. Fortunately they were prevented from carrying their designs into execution by the gallantry of the Small Party of the 69th[1] which got possession of the Gate Way."

Parry's opinion of the stupidity of the orders in regard to caste marks was forcibly expressed in the following letter, written four days later:—

"The business is generally supposed to have originated in the Princes taking advantage of the discontent of the Native Troops occasioned by a change in the form of their Turbans and an order directing that they should all be close shaved in the chin, that their whiskers should be cut in a particular form, and that none of them were to appear on parade with the distinguishing marks of their caste on their faces.

Can you suppose it possible that any people could be so absurd to issue such orders; the fact, however, is so, but they are to be rescinded. They are already done away at the Presidency and Lord

[1] 2nd Batt. The Welsh Regiment.

"They are supplying us with 5,000 men—we do not want them—all that was necessary was done by removing the Governor and Commander-in-Chief—had they remained, ten thousand more would have been of no use."

When Lord William Bentinck left, a member of the Madras Council named William Petrie was appointed acting Governor of Fort St. George, and Parry wrote on the 27th September, 1807:—

"It is extraordinary, but true, that the day Mr. Petrie took his oath as Governor, we had an abundant fall of rain for the first time for many months, and since it has rained every day regularly. The natives say this is owing to the change in Government—*'Mr. Petrie very good man—plenty of rain and everybody too much happy'*."

As regards Lord William Bentinck, it is only fair to remember that he later became Governor–General of India, and has gone down to history as one of the most generally beloved of a long line of distinguished holders of that high office.

Trade depression: 1806

The year 1806 was disastrous for the trade of Madras. The rains failed altogether, and there was famine throughout the Carnatic, as a result of which there were many serious failures

amongst the Agency Houses. As Parry wrote at the time, "at Madras the times for all mercantile operations never were more unfavourable."

One of the worst of these failures was that of Chase & Co., who failed for 11,00,000 pagodas, or some Rs. 40,00,000. Their liquidation was entrusted to a Messrs. Tulloh & Co., who themselves failed for a large sum shortly afterwards. Parry was appointed liquidator of both firms, and thus became possessed of his original partnership ledger with Thomas Chase, a record which is still in the possession of Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd.

There was a run on Parry as a result of these failures, which had not unnaturally brought a general discredit on all Agency Houses; and he was specially embarrassed at this time owing to heavy commitments which he had outstanding on cargoes shipped as speculations to the Far East and Australia. One of these speculations, that in the ship *General Wellesley*, commanded by a Captain Dalrymple, is treated in some detail below.

David Pugh

Meantime Parry had been joined by a young nephew, David Pugh, one of Ann Parry's sixteen children, and on the eve of his departure

for Trincomalee on the 12th August, 1806, Parry wrote to one of his constituents:—"If during my absence you want anything done here, write to Mr. Pugh and he will, with pleasure, attend to your directions."

A few months later Parry wrote home that Pugh was "an excellent steady young man—in short everything I could wish him."

More shipping losses

Early in 1806 Parry suffered a disaster of the first magnitude when the ship *Marquis Wellesley* was completely gutted by fire off Calicut on the Malabar Coast. This ship, of which Parry was half owner, must not be confused with the *General Wellesley* referred to above.

The *Marquis Wellesley*, commanded by a Captain Grant, who owned the other half, must have been a fairly big vessel, for her block was insured for Rs. 2,60,000, the risk being shared equally between the Carnatic Insurance Co., of which company Parry had himself been secretary in 1796, and the Equitable Insurance Co.

Capt. John Grant was an adventurer who in 1799 had commanded a brigade of the Nizam's Infantry during the last Mysore War. He was present at the fall of Seringapatam, on which occasion he received, through Parry, a substantial sum as prize money.

The relation between the merchant-owner and the captain of a merchant vessel in those days was essentially based on trust; cargoes were provided and paid for by the merchant, but he was entirely in the captain's hands as regards the sale proceeds, and also as to the price paid for return cargoes. Opportunities for the making of large fortunes by these captains were therefore frequent, and the prospect of heavy losses on the part of the merchant equally great. Parry seems to have trusted Grant implicitly, but there seems little doubt that this confidence was thoroughly misplaced; for when Grant died in Bombay shortly after the gutting of the *Marquis Wellesley*, Parry, who had been nearly ruined by his association with him, was horrified to find that Grant had left his widow a large fortune. On hearing the news Parry wrote to a friend:—

> "To me it appears most unaccountable that Grant should have died, as it is said he has, leaving a large property to his wife and children. I have been a dreadful sufferer by the connection with him, and I do not think it possible, if he has done us justice, that he could have died worth property to any amount."

Parry summed up his own position over this partnership as follows:—

> "The loss of the ship *Marquis Wellesley* by fire off the Malabar Coast has put an end to all my shipping concerns, and most ruinous ones they have been."

And:—

> "I have suffered so much at different times from shipping transactions that I am completely sick of them."

The *Marquis Wellesley* was, at the time of the fire, lying off Calicut loaded with grain bound for the Cape of Good Hope, where famine conditions were said to prevail, and her cargo, which Parry insured for Rs. 1,00,000 would, in his opinion, have sold "for above Rs. 3,50,000."

The Insurance Companies at first withheld payment on the grounds that the loss was due to incendiarism, but after a full enquiry, this "infamous calumny" as Parry called it, was disproved, and payment in full was made.

Parry was so insistent in referring to his heavy losses over the *Marquis Wellesley* that it seems clear either the cargo or the block, or both, were much under-insured.

South Arcot

In view of Messrs. Parry & Co.'s considerable existing interests in the South Arcot District it is interesting to note that Thomas Parry's busi-

(*a*)
Curved stairway leading to the tiffin room.

PARRY'S BUILDINGS, 19

(*b*)
Binding the records.

ness connection with that district had begun as early as 1806, and possibly earlier.

He was then making considerable advances to Indigo planters near Cuddalore and Chidambaram, and shortly afterwards, owing to the death of the owners of these works, he was forced to take them over and work them himself in order to recover his outstandings.

The owner of the works at Chidambaram was one Edward Campbell—known in the District as "Sugar" Campbell. He it was who first introduced the West Indian method of growing sugar cane into South Arcot, and when Parry, in 1806, was first considering the question of advances to Campbell he wrote:—

> "Of the sugar I am not capable of forming an opinion. It appears that owing to the want of rain during the last two years he has had no cane and has consequently done nothing. His expectations this year are great and he has already planted cane to a considerable extent. His works are sufficiently large, I should imagine, to carry on the manufacture of Sugar and Rum on a great scale. This year, I suppose, he will ascertain whether the cane can be cultivated in his neighbourhood with success."

Cane has indeed been cultivated with success in the South Arcot District for many years past, and Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd. to-day manage a cane sugar

factory at Nellikuppam with a crushing capacity of 1,000 tons of cane per day.

The depression continues: 1807

The year 1807 opened most inauspiciously for Parry. He, himself, was a very sick man indeed, and in addition to this and his business worries, both Mrs. Parry and his daughter Eliza were dangerously ill.

It is not altogether surprising that in these circumstances his spirit was, for the time being, almost broken, and on the 24th March of that year he wrote home:—

> "I am completely tired of the profession of a merchant, and if I could fall upon any other plan of supporting myself I would abandon it altogether."

But more trouble was in store, and the failure of the rains in 1806 was followed by a poor monsoon in 1807, with the result that the depression deepened and several more Agency Houses had to close their doors. Parry weathered the storm, and wrote home at this time, "I believe our credit is as good as any Commercial House in the place."

Parry's difficulty in keeping his own head above water was greatly enhanced by the fact that these

failures "brought a general discredit on all the mercantile establishments of this place", and he did not overstate the case when he wrote in September of that year:—

> "Our trade with England seems nearly at an end and there is no chance of its reviving unless the French influence on the Continent be reduced within due bounds, and the restrictions under which the private trader labours be removed."

Parry was quite right, and the trade of Madras did not revive until after the battle of Waterloo in 1815, by which time the East India Co's monopoly had, with the exception of the China Tea Trade, been removed (1813).

The "General Wellesley"

The trade with England being, in Parry's opinion, nearly at an end, it was not unnatural that he should look for other means of profitably investing his surplus funds. He accordingly decided to try the Far Eastern markets, and, in March, 1806, he invested Rs. 1,75,000 in a cargo of Madras cloth and other goods which he despatched by the *General Wellesley*, under command of a Captain Dalrymple, to Pontianak on the west coast of Borneo. The entry for this consignment in Parry's ledger reads:—

To 370 Bales of Piece Goods
600 Bags of Rice
132 Cwts. of Steel
4,000 Iron Chapers (?)
2 Trunks of Musters[1] shipped in the *General Wellesley* Pgs. 50,346-44-40.

Pontianak was at that time ruled by a Sultan, and Parry's Agent there was a certain Captain Burn. By September, 1806, Parry heard from Burn that the *General Wellesley* had duly arrived and had landed her cargo. Burn also advised having sold some of her cargo for a return cargo of "Gold Dust and Dollars to the value of 25,000 Pagodas" (say Rs. 88,000). The rest of the Madras cargo remained at Pontianak unsold.

Parry heard no more until, in March, 1807, he received a letter from Dalrymple to the effect that on making Penang, on his way back to Madras, he was informed there was a great scarcity of grain at Botany Bay, and that on his own initiative he had landed the Gold Dust and Dollars at Penang in exchange for a full cargo of rice, wheat and spirits, and had set sail for Australia. Dalrymple added that he hoped to be back at Penang in May or June with a cargo of "Crooked Timber for the Navy." He sailed for New South Wales with a letter of introduction to the Governor, the famous

[1] This word, derived from the Portuguese *mostra*, a sample, was in general use.

Captain Bligh of the *Bounty*, but as Bligh, then an Admiral, was in gaol when Dalrymple reached Botany Bay, the letter cannot have been much use to him.

This deviation annoyed Parry exceedingly, because he had never intended to lay out his money for so long, though he was somewhat appeased at the thought of the large profits Dalrymple would make on the sale of his cargo at Botany Bay. But we have seen that, following on the poor monsoons of 1806 and 1807, Madras trade was in a bad way, and that several of the large Agency Houses had failed during 1807, resulting in nervousness amongst depositors; and that, after a particularly bad failure, there was a "run" on Parry in July, 1807.

He, of course, then wanted all the cash he could lay his hands on, and he began to get more and more restive and nervous over Dalrymple's venture. He had the more reason to be worried because the insurance on the *General Wellesley* and her cargo lapsed when she deviated at Penang, and Parry found it impossible to get fresh cover. All this trouble, too, followed very closely on his heavy losses in connection with the *Marquis Wellesley*.

Meantime, he had cause for further anxiety over the cargo landed at Pontianak, about which he could

get no satisfactory news from Burn except that the Sultan had confiscated it and refused to pay for it. Parry, therefore, in August 1807 sent his young nephew David Pugh over to Penang to try and settle up that part of the venture. Pugh duly arrived, and towards the end of September wrote to Parry that information had reached Penang of Dalrymple having sold his cargo at Botany Bay "at a great profit", and this welcome news was followed by a letter from another source to Parry assessing Dalrymple's profit at £30,000.

Parry's jubilation, however, was shortlived, for, in December, 1807, he received news that the *General Wellesley* had foundered with all hands off the Fiji Islands on the return voyage from Australia to Penang; and, as though to tamp Parry's disappointment well home, Pugh shortly afterwards arrived back in Madras with the disturbing news that Dalrymple had, after all, "scarcely made a saving voyage to Botany Bay."

The story, however, of the loss of the *General Wellesley* was quite untrue, and, on the 28th April, 1808—two years after the vessel had left Madras—Parry heard from Dalrymple from Penang: "I arrived here on the 1st March from New Zealand with a cargo of very fine spars which has been delivered over to your

Agent, who will account to you for them. I have also landed some Grind Stones and logs of Beefwood."

But still Parry was without news or remittance in connection with either the Botany Bay transaction or the goods lying at Pontianak, and the matter was further confused by the fact that Dalrymple had sailed from Penang for the Fiji Islands to pick up a cargo of Sandalwood for Canton.

The reason for this further sailing to the Far East was that Dalrymple had heavy debts outstanding in Calcutta, and Parry had therefore written to him as follows:—

> "I think you will do right to continue in the trade betwixt China, Botany Bay and the Fiji Islands, and I advise you by no means to return to this side of India, nor even to Penang, till you have the means to face all your Bengal creditors. I know that instructions have been sent to Penang to proceed against you should you come there."

As regards the Pontianak cargo, Parry managed to interest the East Indies Naval authorities in the matter, and an expedition was sent under command of Admiral Drury to endeavour to coerce the Sultan, but with what result is unfortunately not known.

Finally Parry heard from Dalrymple that he had in Botany Bay "turned the 28,000 Dollars to 56,000

Dollars", on which Parry's comment was "It may be true for anything I know to the contrary."

Apparently it was not; for the following sad entry appears, under date the 31st December, 1808, in the "Owners of the *General Wellesley* Account" in Parry's ledger:—

> "By Profit and Loss, for balance due on this account written off under loss: Pagodas 58,247-17-5."

So this venture cost Parry a round Rs. 2,00,000. He had learned his lesson, and wrote home to friends in England "you may rest assured I shall never run any more risks of this description on any account."

A Pearl Island

Whilst Capt. Dalrymple of the *General Wellesley* was cruising in Far Eastern waters he discovered what he described as a Pearl Island. He reported his discovery to Parry and suggested the financing, later on, of an expedition to exploit the find. He himself was, of course, to be in command, and he carefully avoided giving Parry any indication of the whereabouts of the Island. He did, however, describe a rendezvous where Parry's specially equipped vessel, complete with divers, was to meet him.

Parry was all impatience, and, on the 29th April, 1808, he wrote the following letter to Dalrymple which reads not unlike an extract from an adventure story for boys :—

> "It is not possible, at present, to get a vessel of the size you mention or pearl divers in time to meet you at the Islands laid down by you, but, if this letter should find you at Penang, I beg you will let me know the latitude and longitude of the Pearl Island, and I will endeavour to get a vessel and send her there properly equipped.
>
> One third of the advantages from the concern shall be accounted for to you and in the event of my not sending a vessel there, you may rely on my keeping the communication you may make to me a profound secret.
>
> The master pearl which you sent, although not of the first quality, is valuable. The mother-of-pearl shell is excellent. Many thanks for the saddle, it is a great curiosity."

Apparently Dalrymple kept his secret, and there is no further reference to the Pearl Island.

Parry's family sails for England

We have seen that Parry had sent his son John home to England in 1805 owing to ill-health. Early in 1806 he received the alarming

news that, immediately on arrival in London, he had contracted smallpox; and, shortly afterwards, news came that he "was completely recovered". At the same time his daughter Eliza, who was still in India went down with what seems to have been a severe attack of malaria, and became dangerously ill. We may follow the progress of her illness from Parry's letters at that period, and it will be noted that as soon as his daughter was recovered, Mrs. Parry herself became seriously ill. Parry, too, at that time was far from well, but his business concerns were in so parlous a state that he could not possibly afford to leave Madras, and finally the decision was made to send Mrs. Parry and Eliza to England.

24th February, 1806.

> "The return of Mrs. Parry from the Northward with our dear little girl at the point of death, just at the time I received your letter, and the hurry I have been in since she began to recover in preparing my Europe despatch, so engaged my attention that I have not hitherto had time to answer them . . .
>
> "Mrs. Parry and Eliza, who is recovering fast, desire to be most kindly remembered to you."

2nd March, 1806.

"Our little girl is considerably better, but by no means entirely recovered, and Doctor Fitzgerald being of opinion that she must be removed from Madras before the hot weather sets in, Mrs. Parry has determined on going with her to the Mysore Country about the middle of this month."

Apparently they did not go to Mysore, and Parry wrote on the 26th March, 1806:—

"Poor Eliza is far from well. It is Mrs. Parry's intention to carry her to Pondicherry at the beginning of the next month, as she thinks a change of scene might be of service."

And on the 10th April:—

"Mrs. Parry and Eliza (who is still unwell) are at Pondicherry."

21st April, 1806.

"I have very favourable accounts from Mrs. Parry of our dear Eliza, who is quite recovered; they are both much pleased with the society at Pondicherry."

Parry himself went down to Pondicherry in June, and on his return he wrote:—

"I left Mrs. Parry and Eliza at Pondicherry where they will remain for some months. The latter is still annoyed by frequent returns of the fever and ague. They are much pleased with Pondicherry."

1st October, 1806.

> "Mrs. Parry is still at Pondicherry, to which place I shall go to pass the monsoon, when the fleet is despatched."

At the end of October Parry went to Pondicherry and stayed there till the middle of December, when he brought Mrs. Parry and Eliza back to Madras.

Eliza's health appears to have improved during the cold weather in Madras, and on the 10th March, 1807, Parry wrote:—

> "We returned from Pondicherry about the 20th December. Since Eliza came to the Castle she is quite recovered and grown a very fine girl. You would be delighted to see her."

As soon as Eliza had recovered, however, Mrs. Parry went down, and on the 21st March, 1807, Parry wrote:—

> "Mrs. Parry has been dangerously ill, but is now getting better."

By the 23rd April, 1807, Parry was able to write:—

> "Mrs. Parry is much recovered, and Eliza quite well."

But Mrs. Parry did not pick up, and Parry wrote on the 16th July, 1807:—

> "Mrs. Parry, who is far from well, has come to the determination of proceeding to England

in October, and will take Eliza with her. I have engaged the round house of the *Dover Castle* for them, and Major Walker and his family."

Parry paid no less than 2,000 pagodas (£800) for this accommodation. The *Dover Castle* arrived in the Madras Roads early in October, 1807, and Mrs. Parry and Eliza went on board on the 16th of that month. On the 22nd October Parry wrote:—

"I shall this evening see them for the last time in India. I hope we shall yet meet elsewhere."

And finally, a week after they had sailed, he wrote:—

"The fleet sailed on Saturday—on Friday I took leave of my family—they had been on board some days and although most comfortably accommodated in every respect, it was with difficulty I could prevail on them not to come on shore again.

Eliza at last acknowledged it was for the best and, bidding me come home soon, took leave of me—God bless them! I must try all I can to comply with their last request. It shall not be my fault if I do not succeed. I have not now a single inducement to keep me in this country."

Parry never saw his wife and family again, for Mrs. Parry never returned to India, and Parry never went home. Both John and Eliza predeceased him.

Parry was now 39 years old, and had spent 19 years in Madras. He was a terribly sick man, and altogether the outlook was depressing. He describes his business prospects at this time as follows:—

> "I do not expect that any profits from business will much more than enable me to provide for my annual expenditure. However, we must all do the best we can and I trust that in time the profits of the House, by a careful attention to our Agency concerns, which are becoming more extensive, will be increased."

In spite of this poor outlook, he made adequate provision for his family at Home, as the following letter to his brother-in-law, Gilbert Ross, on the 16th October, 1807, will show:—

> "Gilbert Ross, Esq.,
>
> London,
>
> C/o *Dover Castle* to U.K.
>
> My dear Sir,
>
> Mrs. Parry will, I hope, have the pleasure of delivering this letter to you.
>
> I have to beg of you to pay her, on her arrival, or as soon after as she may require it, the sum of two hundred Pounds, and the sum of four hundred Pounds per annum, by quarterly payments, the first payment to commence on the 1st day of July, 1808.

As Mrs. Parry will take charge of our little boy, you will be good enough to advance to her such sums as she may have occasion for to defray the charges of his education; such advance to be exclusive of her own allowance of £400 per annum which is intended solely for the support of herself and Eliza.

I remain, my dear Sir,
Your obliged and affectionate,
THOS. PARRY."

A curiously stilted way of addressing one's cousin and brother-in-law, but this, no doubt, was after the manner of the times. At any rate £400 a year was a fair income in England in 1807, though this, as we shall see, was very soon increased to £600.

Parry's account in the 1808-1809 Ledger shows that he ceased living at his San Thome Castle as soon as Mrs. Parry left Madras. He then rented the house to a Major Leith for 50 pagodas (Rs. 175) per month. This was almost certainly the General Leith who eventually purchased the property and gave it its present name of Leith Castle.

Parry's projected trip to England

We have seen that Parry was himself far from well when he sent his family home, and by the end of 1807 he was desperately ill. He continued in a very low state of health until in April, 1808,

he made up his mind to go to England for a short trip. He then wrote:—

> "I have for many months suffered under a most deplorable state of ill health, and I am still extremely unwell. If our concern with you (Capt. Dalrymple of the *General Wellesley*) could be brought to a conclusion without loss, it would enable me to take a trip to Europe, where it is necessary I should go for the re-establishment of my health, but till that affair is settled I cannot leave this country."

The affair of the *General Wellesley* resulted, as we know, in a heavy loss, and Parry's projected trip to England never materialised.

The Travancore Rising: 1808

There was a violent outbreak in Travancore towards the end of 1808, when the Residency was attacked by order of the Dewan as a protest against the pressure which was being brought to bear on the State to pay the subsidy which was long overdue to the Company.

Order was soon restored, but Parry seems to have rather sided with Travancore, for he wrote on the 26th January, 1809, to his friend Col. Bannerman:—

> "I must refer you to the communications which will of course be made by your Government

respecting the unfortunate dispute with your old friends, the Travancoreans. As I am not at all informed on the subject, I can say nothing about it."

And, on the 6th February, to the same friend:—

"The news from Travancore is not favourable. I fear we shall lose many lives before the contest can be decided—and what shall we gain by it?"

And, finally, on the 28th of February:—

"Travancore—Colonel St. Leger got possession of the gateway and lines without much difficulty. We had one officer, Captain Cunningham of the 69th[1] killed. Major Welsh greatly distinguished himself. It is said the Dewan has absconded and that the Rajah agrees to receive Macaulay. I hope this is all true, and that no more lives will be lost in this unhappy contest."

Parry's information seems to have been substantially correct, the Dewan having committed suicide.

Parry Neill & Co. partnership ends

By September, 1808, it was clear that John Neill, who had gone Home in 1806, was not returning to the East. Gibbons, the other partner, was ill and desirous of retiring to England, and so, on the 7th September, 1808, Parry wrote to Gibbons:—

[1] 2nd Batt. The Welsh Regt.

"Another fleet is arrived without a single line from Neill. It is therefore quite uncertain when he may be expected to return to India. My health is so bad, and my constitution so injured that I cannot venture again to embark in any business which I cannot relinquish at a short notice.

You say your health is bad, and that you wish to return to Europe.

Under these circumstances it will certainly on every account be advisable to close our several concerns at the end of the present year, when our partnership will expire. I fear it will not turn out productive.

If we can get out of the unfortunate affair of the *General Wellesley* without loss, the business of the Madras House will yield some profit, if not, the whole will be sunk, perhaps more. At Trincomalee I fear you have not done much.

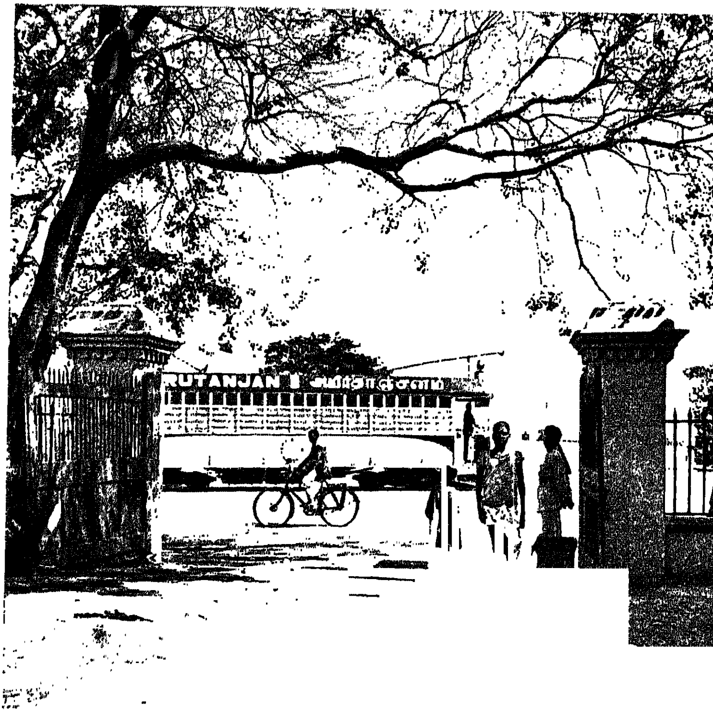
Had not I suffered so severely from ill health, we might perhaps have been more fortunate, but I have been altogether so incapable of attending to business, that I have been obliged to forego many speculations which might probably, if well managed, have turned to advantage."

Accordingly Parry's partnership with Neill and Gibbons, which expired at the end of 1808, was not renewed.

(*a*) *The entrance from Esplanade.*

PARRY'S BUILDINGS, 1938.

(*b*) *The same entrance, from inside.*



More trouble in store

We have seen in this chapter how Parry had managed to weather the very severe trade depression of 1806 and 1807, to which many of his more wealthy competitors had succumbed—and this in spite of having suffered considerably from his shipping ventures. He had lost no less than Rs. 2,00,000 over the unfortunate affair of the *General Wellesley*, and his other ship the *Marquis Wellesley*, had brought him further financial loss. It is therefore fair to assume that he was possessed of a considerable fortune before these disasters occurred; and we can well imagine his wishing he had retired in 1805.

In addition, however, to his business worries he had been through a most anxious time with his family, and had had to say goodbye first to his son, and then to his wife and daughter; and he had been dangerously ill himself.

By the end of 1808, however, his health was considerably improved, and his affairs were once more on the up-grade, and on the 24th October, 1808, he wrote:—

> "I am now much recovered, and trust, as we have got rid of our hot season, I shall get strength to jog on a few years longer."

Parry may surely be excused for hoping that Dame Fortune was at last to be kinder to him; but this was not to be, and we shall follow him through still more difficult times in the following chapters.

Parry's private account: 1806

Selected extracts from Parry's private account in Parry & Lane's 1806 ledger are here reproduced.

Accounts were still kept in pagodas, fanams and cash:—

Debits:

1806.			Pags.	F.	C.
Jany.	20	Paid M. Roworth for subscription to Madras Theatre ...	10	0	0
Jany.	28	Paid James Cox for pair of silver spurs p. bill ...	9	0	0
Feby.	3	Paid Choury for 5 doz. knives and forks p. bill ...	16	33	60
Feby.	4	Paid James' Portuguese servant	2	10	0
Feby.	5	Paid Mr. Ogilivie for fencible Corps for Dec. and Jany. ...	12	0	0
Feby.	6	Paid B. Kenneth for 2 books ...	20	0	0
Feby.	24	Paid A. Cockburn for subscription to Native Hospital for last year ...	15	0	0
Feby.	25	Paid Choury for 4 doz. knives and forks ...	13	33	60
Mar.	19	Paid Mrs. Paichand for a Bullock Coach ...	40	0	0
Mar.	20	Paid Appoaravoo for a pair of Bullocks ...	20	0	0
Mar.	25	Paid Messrs. Hufke Tawa & Co., for one volume Chatham's Letters ...	1	0	0

Debits:

1806.			Pags.	F.	C.
Apr.	2	Paid Rungapah for China ware p. bill ...	7	9	60
Apr.	3	Paid 2 coolies for carrying wine and brandy to Pondicherry ...	1	8	30
		Paid 26 Palanquin bearers to go to Pondicherry @ Rs. 2 ...	14	38	20
		Paid 7 Palanquin bearers to go to Pondicherry @ Rs. 2 ...	4	0	0
Apr.	9	Paid William Cook for 2 pieces of handkerchiefs p. bill ...	1	1	0
May	7	Paid 2 trips boat hire for landing chairs and fruit baskets from the *Metcalf* ...	0	30	0
		Paid for a boat to San Thome ...	1	7	0
May	31	Paid for half pipe of Madeira Wine ...	75	0	0
June	3	Paid I. Dobbin for 1 doz. Ship Hooks ...	8	11	20
		Paid D. for 2 rugs p. bill ...	1	33	60
		Paid D. for 2 Thumbles and 2 pair Sursen ...	1	25	40
June	25	Paid D. cooly for carrying wine to garden p. bill ...	2	9	0
Aug.	1	Paid John Lockie for 2 casks of Ale ...	92	0	0
Aug.	2	Paid J. Branson for 2 sets of knives and forks ...	21	22	0
Aug.	8	Paid J. Branson for a plated cruet stand p. bill ...	13	0	0
Aug.	13	Paid Choury for cups and saucers p. bill ...	2	22	40
Aug.	14	Paid Krishnamiah Chetty for a tub of sugar candy ...	9	0	0
		Paid Krishnamiah Chetty in gold ...	150	0	0
		Paid for one Looking Glass ...	1	0	0

Debits:

1806.			Pags.	F.	C.
Aug.	21	Paid Cuttamaram hire for landing 100 Palmyras from the Schooner *Zephyr* ...	3	0	0
Sept.	9	Paid Krishnamiah Chetty for one canister of Hyson Tea ...	2	22	0
Sept.	30	Paid cooly for carrying wine and salt fish to Garden ...	0	31	0
Oct.	6	Paid Mr. Myer for a round hat ...	5	0	0
Nov.	7	Paid cooly hire for carrying a basket of Bengal Potatoes to Pondicherry ...	0	25	0

Credits:

1806.			Pags.	F.	C.
Mar.	25	Received from Binny & Dennison for 1|3 of 5 tickets in the Lottery for Mrs. Richardson's house, returned No. 195 to 199 ...	41	30	0
June	9	Received from G. Chinnery for house rent from 14th April to 31st ult. @ 50 Pgs. per month ...	76	30	0
June	14	Amount paid by John Butcher to Messrs. Covins Bazett & Co., being for feeding to Captain Kinlocks horse for 3 months ...	15	0	0
July	2	By cash received from Carnatic Insurance Co., in part of the loss of the *Marquess Wellesley*	4,600	0	0
July	9	Cash received from Edward Watts, Secretary to the Carnatic Insurance Co., in further part of the loss of the *Marquess Wellesley* ...	1,051	32	50

Credits:

				Pags.	F.	C.
1806.						
July	12	Cash received from Edward Watts, Secretary to the Carnatic Insurance Co., for 34 days interest on the Policy of the *Marquess of Wellesley* for Pgs. 5,909-14-14 ...		66	40	70
		Cash received from George Chinnery for house rent for the month of June ...		50	0	0
Aug.	11	By cash received from the Hon'ble Company for Godown rent from 1st to 31st July ...		20	0	0
		By D. for three small godowns from 22nd to 31st July ...		5	15	0
		By D. from Wm. Cox for a godown rent from 14th April to 30th June being 2½ months ...		20	12	0
		By J. Neill for one half of Pgs. 7,500 on the house in Moore Street ...		3,750	0	0
Sept.	10	By D. from Wm. Abbott, Secretary to the Equitable Insurance Co., being for the loss of the *Marquess Wellesley*	9,257 0 0			
		Deduct interest from this day to 10th Oct. next @ 12 per cent.	94 16 0			
		Abatement @ 2 per cent.	185 60 0			
		Brokerage @ ½ per cent.	46 12 0			
			325 34 0	9,021	16	0

Credits:

1806.				Pags. F. C
Sept. 19	By cash received from Wm. Abbott, Secretary to the Insurance Co., being loss of the *Marquess Wellesley*	9257 6 0		
	Deduct interest from this day to 10th Oct. next @ 12 per cent.	63 38 0		
	Abatement @ 2 per cent.	185 6 0		
	Brokerage @ ½ per cent.	46 12 0		
		295 14 0		8,961 34 0

6

1809—1810

Parry and Pugh, 1809—Sir George Barlow—The Mutiny of the Madras Officers—The Carnatic debts—Parry's private account, 1809.

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6

1809—1810.

When the year 1809 opened, Parry's head was just emerging above water after he had been down, as it were, for the third time. His health had been undermined, and his business had been practically ruined by the unprecedented slump and his shipping losses; and he must have longed for fair weather and a breathing space during which he could recuperate both.

He had spent 21 years in Madras, was 41 years old, and was practically penniless.

Such was his condition when he found himself caught up in the vortex of the Carnatic Debt scandals, in the resolution of which he played a leading and a courageous part.

We shall see later how he was made to suffer for this, but must first record how his business was carried

on after the dissolution of his partnership with Neill and Gibbons on the 31st December, 1808.

Parry and Pugh, 1809

From the 1st January, 1809, Parry took his young nephew, David Pugh, into partnership, and the business was continued under the name of Parry and Pugh.

David Pugh was one of the sixteen children of Parry's third sister, Ann, who was married when Parry was four years old. The Pugh family was, except for two short breaks, represented among the partners of Parry & Co. until 1862, when John retired. David Pugh joined in 1806, became a partner in 1809, and retired in 1818. Joseph Pugh joined in 1815, became a partner in 1823 and retired in 1841. David Pugh (junr.) became a partner in 1836 and retired in 1849. And finally John Pugh became a partner in 1851 and retired in 1862. The latter two were grandsons of Ann Parry.

Two houses in Madras are still known as Pugh's Gardens; one, at Adyar, was marked " Mr. Pugh " in a map of Madras dated 1837, and was probably owned by David Pugh (junr.). The other, at Teynampet, was for many years the residence of the Bishop of Madras, but it is not known how the name Pugh's Gardens was

acquired. Joseph Pugh at one time owned Bishop's Gardens, Adyar, though it is not known how the latter name was acquired—a curious coincidence.

Sir George Barlow

Before proceeding with the story of the Carnatic Debts it is necessary to say something of Sir George Barlow, who was Governor of Madras at that period. He had acted as Governor-General for two years from 1805 to 1807, filling temporarily the vacancy caused by the death of the Marquis Cornwallis, who had come out to India for a second time.

Historians have not been kind to Sir George Barlow.

Marshman says of him that when he acted as Governor-General "he not only failed to obtain the deference and respect due to his station, but made himself obnoxious by his despotic conduct in official matters and his cold and repulsive manner in private life."[1]

After Lord Minto's arrival in 1807 to take over the office of Governor-General, Barlow was appointed Governor of Madras, replacing Lord William Bentinck, who had been recalled following the Vellore Mutiny. Barlow's administration of Madras has been described as "a season of unprecedented private misery and unexampled public peril and alarm."[2]

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[1] Marshman's *History of India.*

[2] Wilson's *History of British India.*

The list could be continued, but it is not necessary to subscribe fully to the views of these historians in order to present Parry's case in a favourable light. We prefer, in fact, to think that the chaos which resulted in Madras from Barlow's administration was due to his advisers rather than to Barlow himself.

However that may be, the year 1809 in Madras was very definitely one of chaos. It saw not only the culmination of the Carnatic Debt scandals but also that almost forgotten piece of history, the mutiny of the officers of the Madras Army.

Though these two events ran concurrently we will deal with the mutiny first, as it will help to paint the background against which the other trouble was staged.

The mutiny of the Madras Officers

Discontent amongst the officers of the Madras Army, which had been smouldering for some years, broke into open mutiny in July, 1809. The immediate cause was the abolition of a tent contract from which commanding officers made money, and a very serious situation soon arose.

Parry's comments on the state of affairs in Madras prior to the outbreak of mutiny are here recorded:—

6th February, 1809.

"You will be astonished to hear that Col. Capper

and Major Boles[1] are suspended the Hon'ble Company's Service. Copies of the orders suspending them, and of the order to which they refer, are enclosed. The indignation which this measure has excited in the whole Army, and indeed in the mind of every person in the place, is not to be described. I shall not venture to remark further upon it."

28th February, 1809.

"A Mr. Poole . . . was sent to coventry by his Messmates for going to Lady Barlow's Ball contrary to a general determination of the Mess. He complained, and Col. Munro wrote a letter to the President of the Mess, by order of Sir George Barlow, desiring that Mr. Poole should be received at the Mess, and threatened in the event of a non-compliance that they should all be ordered to join their Corps. They refused to receive him and have been ordered to join. Their situations were to be filled up by conscripts from Cuddalore. But these conscripts will not march. Was there ever anything so ridiculous? A great Government quarrelling with boys." . . .

"New charges against Lt.-Col. Munro are going on, the enclosed is a copy of them. Scarcely an officer now goes near the Government House. An attempt was made to induce the Royals to visit there, but it has failed."

---

[1] Deputy Adjutant General at Madras.

8th March, 1809.

"The Royals dined with the Governor in consequence of a representation and request from the Commander-in-Chief. The officers of the 18th lately ordered to do duty at Madras, all waited on the Governor on their arrival. They soon after received invitations to dine at the Government House, which they declined accepting. Several communications have taken place through the Commander-in-Chief; however, they still are determined not to have the honour of eating with the Governor, and it is said they are to be ordered to Harrypur and that more serious proceedings are to be taken against them."

The mutiny, which eventually broke out at Masulipatam in July, spread throughout the Presidency, but all was quiet within three months. It is doubtful, however whether the affair—which at one time assumed ugly proportions—would have been settled so speedily but for the timely arrival in Madras of Lord Minto, who came down to the Presidency when he heard what a ferment the civil and military population at the settlement was in.

He landed in Madras on the 11th September, 1809, and, on the following day Parry wrote:—

"This place has been for a long time in a constant state of agitation and alarm; we hope,

however, that Lord Minto, who landed yesterday from the *Modeste,* will be able to adjust the unhappy differences between the Government and the Army, and to restore peace and happiness to this distracted settlement."

By October, the mutiny was practically over, and, the 10th of that month, Parry wrote:—

"When the *Bengal* sailed from hence on the 25th ultimo with Lord Minto's despatches, I was absent. By that vessel he, of course, forwarded a copy of the Government Order of the 25th. I am happy to inform you that the whole, or nearly the whole, of the officers have in obedience to that order signed the Test, and are now about to join their respective corps.

"His Lordship's visit to the Coast has certainly so far been productive of the happiest effects, and it is to be hoped that by remaining here sometime and persevering in measures of conciliation, he will restore that harmony and good understanding in the Army which had been entirely destroyed previous to his arrival.

"The officers in general seem to be satisfied that his Lordship is well disposed towards them, and they are, in consequence, inclined to consider his measures in the most favourable manner.

"Lord Minto remains here during the Monsoon; they talk of his going to Mysore in January;

whilst he remains on the coast all will, I dare say, go well, but it is impossible to say what may be the consequence should he return to Calcutta and leave Sir George Barlow here.

"The latter is held in such detestation by the officers of the Company's service, that it is absolutely impossible, in my opinion, for him to continue at the head of this Government, without risking another and a more fatal contest, than that which, I hope, is now terminated."

The Marathas invaded Berar at this time and when the Madras Army was called out, the officers answered the call, and the mutiny was over.

And now we must retrace our steps to the early months of 1808, and follow Parry through his troubles in connection with the Carnatic Debts.

The Carnatic Debts

The Carnatic Debts were incurred by Mohamed Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic (usually known as the Nawab Wallajah), and by his son Omdat-ul-Omrah, who succeeded him. Both were men whose spendthrift follies were outstanding even in an age of improvidence, and they raised money for their extravagances by the issue of bonds charged on their lands and revenues. The total value of these

bonds was immense, but how much the Nawabs actually raised by them will never be known, as their servants had conspired with members of the public to issue forged bonds to a huge sum, and to support them by forged entries in the books of the Nawab's Treasury.

The bonds, both the spurious and the genuine, were freely bought and sold throughout South India, their values fluctuating in direct ratio to the Nawab's prospective ability to redeem them. Sir Alexander Cardew, in an appendix to his book *The White Mutiny*, says:—

> "All sorts of people, European and Indian, official and non-official, became interested in his debts, which came to exercise a demoralising influence on society, as it became to the interest of different classes to support the vicious system of the management of whole districts by money-lending creditors."

It is beyond question that many officials of the East India Company, besides many members of the mercantile community, were interested in one way or another in these bonds, and amongst the former were Anstruther, the Advocate-General at Madras, and Orme, the Government Solicitor. These two men had consulted one Roya Reddi Row, the Nawab's sheristadar,

in connection with all their speculations in these bonds —a fact which is of material interest.

The Nawab Wallajah died in 1795, and his son Omdat-ul-Omrah in 1801. Before the death of the latter, Lord Wellesley had been negotiating an arrangement for paying the debts of father and son, and on the accession of the Nawab Asim-ul-Doulah, who succeeded Omdat-ul-Omrah, a treaty was signed by which the new Nawab made over almost his entire territory to the Company, in return for an undertaking by the Company (amongst other things) to pay off the accumulated debts of the two previous Nawabs.

On the 10th July, 1806, a deed similar to a Deed of Arrangement was signed by the Nawab, the Company, and the Nawab's creditors, by which a yearly sum of 340,000 pagodas, or about £120,000, was set aside by the Company for payment of the "Carnatic Debts."

This annual fund of 340,000 pagodas was not a large sum, in view of the creditors' claims. On the bonds alone, including the forgeries (which were not known by Government to be forgeries at the time the deed was signed), the claims amounted to over thirty million pounds, and there were many unsecured debts as well.

Two Commissions were therefore set up, one in London and one in Madras, to investigate the claims of the creditors. The one in Madras consisted of three Commissioners who were servants on the Bengal Establishment of the East India Company. Their names were Goad, Parker and Russell. They arrived in Madras early in 1808, the senior member, Goad, taking up his residence with Anstruther, the Advocate-General.

It was at this time that information first reached the Government of Madras that many of the so-called Nawab's bonds had been forged.

Sir George Barlow unfortunately, but not unnaturally, sought the advice of his Law Officers, Anstruther and Orme, and, though one might fairly have expected that the matter would have been placed before the Commissioners for investigation, Anstruther thought otherwise. He recommended the appointment of a separate Committee, and this was duly set up with Anstruther himself as Chairman, and Orme, the Government Solicitor, as Secretary. The Committee was completed by the appointment of two local civil servants.

This arrangement completely stultified the whole object of the appointment of Commissioners from the

Bengal Establishment; for, as Sir Alexander Cardew so pertinently remarks, "being quite unconnected with South India they were free from all local prepossessions, and entitled therefore to the special confidence and support of the Government."

However, the Anstruther Committee in the end reported to Government that forged bonds existed "to an enormous amount", and stated that forged entries in support of the bonds had been made in the Durbar books.

This was a perfectly correct finding; but during the Committee's proceedings, a dubash named Paupiah, a friend of Parry's, had given evidence that the Nawab's sheristadar, Roya Reddi Row, was responsible for many of the forged bonds and book entries. The Committee exculpated Roya Reddi Row from this charge and counter-charged Paupiah himself with the forgery of a bond for 40,000 pagodas. This was altogether beyond their terms of reference, but they recommended that Paupiah should be prosecuted, and Government, accepting their report, started proceedings against him. He was acquitted, and there was never any doubt of the correctness of the verdict.

In the meantime, early in 1808, the Commissioners from Bengal had started their investigations, and the

first bond which they took up for consideration was one on which Roya Reddi Row himself was the claimant. It must here be noted that Roya Reddi Row had been recommended to the Commissioners as their chief adviser by Anstruther, and that he was now acting, and continued to act for some time, in that capacity.

Paupiah at once came forward a second time to denounce this bond as a forgery, this time before the Commissioners. He was supported in this by Parry, and by William Abbott, of the firm of Abbott, Roebuck and Maitland. After a long investigation, the Commissioners pronounced the bond genuine, and recommended that Paupiah should be prosecuted for conspiracy, and some of his witnesses for perjury. This, of course, was done on the advice of Roya Reddi Row himself, who, with the Commissioners and the Law Officers behind him, was in a strong position.

But Parry was so sure of the forgery of Roya Reddi Row's bond, that, before Government could lay their second charge against Paupiah, he and his associates, Abbott, Roebuck and Maitland, carried the war into the enemy's camp by charging Roya Reddi Row and his principal associate, J. Batley, the Nawab's secretary, with forgery. They made no secret of the fact that they were responsible for the prosecution; their counsel admitted it in open court.

We need dissemble no longer. Roya Reddi Row was a thief, a cheat and a forger, and though this fact was not generally known at the time of which we are writing, it had, a year later, become a matter of history on which there was then, and is now, no dispute.

For reasons at which we can only guess, Anstruther and Orme again took up the cudgels on Roya Reddi Row's behalf, and at their instigation Government ordered the Law Officers to defend him and Batley.

Not only this, but Government went to considerable lengths in an endeavour to secure evidence on behalf of the prisoners, and a Commission, in charge of a young civil servant named Saunders, was sent to Mannargudi and Chidambaram to collect witnesses on their behalf—"A most honourable mission for a Government servant" wrote Parry, "and highly creditable to the Government who sent him."

On the other hand, Parry complained (probably with justification) that the appearance of the Law Officers on behalf of the accused was preventing witnesses from coming forward on the other side.

Thus did Government, in the words of Wilson in his *History of the Madras Army*, "throw the whole weight of its authority into the same scale as an

impostor and a cheat." But Parry wrote, "They have money, influence, and power on their side; we have, however, truth on ours, and do not despair."

The case, which was very long drawn out, was tried before the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Strange (a brother-in-law of Anstruther) who, ignoring the evidence, summed up strongly in favour of the accused. The jury, however, consisting mainly of civil servants, unanimously found both prisoners guilty. But the Chief Justice refused to pass sentence, and even went so far as to enlarge Roya Reddi Row and Batley on bail. Parry wrote:—

> "The whole settlement, excepting the parties interested in forged bonds, has viewed his conduct with horror and indignation. His partiality to the parties accused was manifest during the whole of the trial, and particularly in his summing up the evidence. He acted rather the part of an advocate for the prisoners than that of a British Judge."

So the position at this stage was that Roya Reddi Row and Batley had been found guilty of forging a bond; in spite of this, the bond was accepted as genuine by the Commissioners; and the forgers, backed by Government, the Law Officers, the Commissioners and the Chief Justice, were still at large. As Parry wrote at the time, "guilt marches triumphant through the streets of Madras."

Meantime, the case for conspiracy against Parry's friend Paupiah had been abandoned for lack of evidence, and the case against Paupiah's witnesses on a charge of perjury had resulted in their acquittal.

An important aspect of the matter was that Reddi Row's total claims amounted to 489,445 star pagodas, or £200,000, and that the large majority of these were forgeries. It was, therefore, an easy matter for Parry and his friends to prosecute him and his associate Batley again, and this was done.

Precisely the same story was repeated. Reddi Row and Batley were both defended by the Law Officers; both were unanimously found guilty; both were enlarged on bail by the Chief Justice, and no sentence was passed in either case.

It was clear that if Parry's success in the courts was to have any practical effect, some further steps would have to be taken. During the original enquiry before the Commissioners (as a result of which the first of the forged bonds was pronounced genuine), Reddi Row had stated in evidence that the bond was his own property; during the last of his trials, however, it had become clear that this was not true. Parry therefore seized on this discrepancy as his next line of attack, and on the 3rd February, 1809, he applied to the

Commissioners for copies of certain papers in their possession, in order, as he wrote at the time, "to ascertain whether a prosecution would not lie against the parties who had suborned Reddi Row to perjure himself."

Parry does not say so, but from his repeated assertions of Anstruther's personal interest in the forged bond, it seems fairly clear that he was hoping to secure evidence which would implicate the Advocate-General.

One of the partners of Messrs. Tulloh & Co., a leading firm in Madras, had, in fact, at the recent trial given evidence that his firm had sold their share in this bond to Anstruther. This was later admitted by Anstruther, who stated that he sold his share of the bond as soon as its validity was called in question. But, having received value for his share, he was, of course, still interested in the fate of the bond.

On the day that Parry applied to the Commissioners for copies of the papers (the 3rd February, 1809), they wrote to him readily complying with his request, and speaking of "their respect for the verdict of the Jury."

On the morning of the 6th February, Parry's clerk obtained copies of some of the papers from the Commissioners' office, and on asking for some further papers, he was told (to quote Parry again), "if we would write for them we should have them."

Yet, on the same day, the Commissioners sent a memorial to the Chief Secretary to Government (Mr. Buchan) saying that:—

> "With every degree of deference, etc., etc., we do not hesitate to avow that in this present instance the evidence on the trial of Mr. Batley has not in any degree had the effect of altering our opinion on the merits of the case, or of impairing the strength of our conviction that both Mr. Batley and Roya Reddi Row are entirely innocent of the charges on which they have been indicted.
>
> "Under other circumstances we might not have thought proper to avow this opinion, but we are encouraged in the present instance by the similar sentiments of the Chief Justice himself, the tendency of whose charge is strongly for the acquittal of Mr. Batley.
>
> "Since the trial, a letter has been received from Messrs. Parry, Abbott and Maitland for copies of papers, with an obscure and indefinite expression of their intention to proceed to further prosecutions.
>
> "These trials have impeded our public transactions; and the further prosecutions with which we are threatened, or any other measures calculated to oppose our proceedings, we contemplate as the complete and effectual obstruction of our official duties.
>
> "We therefore distinctly and unreservedly state to the Governor in Council that unless measures

are adopted by Government to relieve us from the embarrassments of persons avowedly the prosecutors, it will be impracticable for us to proceed with immediate effect or with any prospect of ultimate success in the discharge of our duties."

Parry's comment on this sudden change of front may be given in his own words, taken from a letter of the 28th February, 1809, to Col. Bannerman:—

"You will observe that the Commissioners say in their letter of the 6th instant to Mr. Buchan that they still believe Mr. Batley and Roya Reddi Row entirely innocent of the charges on which they were indicted. On the 3rd they speak of their respect for the verdict of the special Jury, and on the 6th they charge the same Jury with something very like perjury for having given that verdict. Can anything equal the folly and wickedness of these men? It is evident that what was written to us on the 3rd was sent without consulting the Law Officers, and the Commissioners then, it is but fair to infer, spoke their real sentiments.

" The letter to Mr. Buchan of the 6th was undoubtedly written by the advice and under the direction of the Law Officers."

Parry then quotes the Commissioners' reference to the views of the Chief Justice, and continues:—

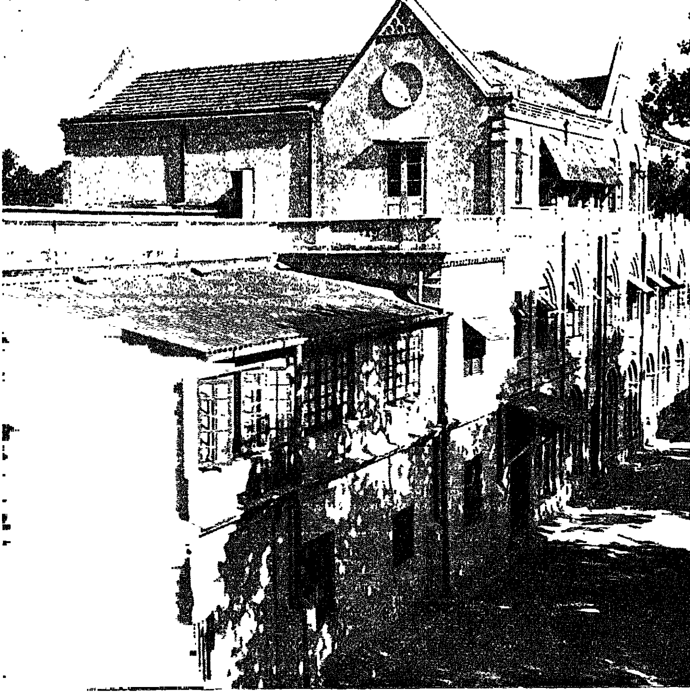
"The Gentlemen were fully in possession of what the Chief Justice had said in his charge to

the special Jury, when they wrote the letter of the 3rd speaking of their deference for the verdict of the Jury. They could not therefore have been influenced by anything said in the charge to have written the letter of the 6th to Mr. Buchan. The persuasive arguments of the Law Officers must therefore be viewed as the true grounds from which the complaint against us took its rise.

"The Commissioners say our letter of the 3rd contains an obscure and indefinite expression of our intention to proceed to further prosecutions. There certainly is not anything either obscure or indefinite in our letter. We plainly state our intentions to prosecute the party, or parties, who shall appear to have been the suborner, or suborners, of these perjuries, or who has, or have, otherwise conspired to aid and abet the cheat attempted against the public and private creditors of the Nawabs of the Carnatic by means of the forged bonds.

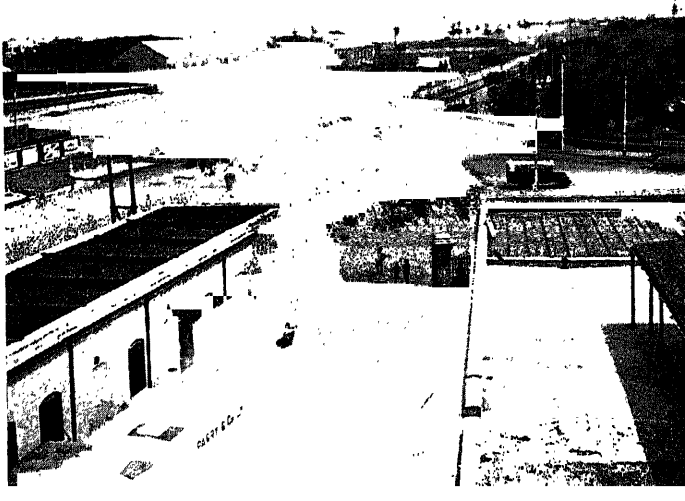
"Are the Commissioners fearful that they may appear ultimately to have been parties in this affair? Or rather, have not the Law Officers, to screen themselves, persuaded the Commissioners that it was our intention to prosecute them, and thus by working on their fears and apprehensions prevailed on them to complain against us to Government?

(a)
Lawyers' Block from 2nd Line Beach.



PARRY'S BUILDINGS, 1938.

(b)
Parry's Corner from the top of the Old Block.



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> "They say, 'these trials have impeded their public transactions'. Who is to blame? Their duty was to have preserved a strict neutrality. They should have left the Law Officers and Reddi Row and Batley to defend themselves and their forged bond. We then should have had no cause for complaining against them."

Sir Alexander Cardew's monograph refers to Parry as being himself the owner of forged bonds, and the following further quotation from the letter to Col. Bannerman is therefore of interest:—

> "On the following facts you may rely:—
>
> "I am not concerned, directly or indirectly, as proprietor, or agent for any proprietor, of a forged bond.
>
> "The only claims I have preferred are for salary, two small demands of the late Mr. West which he bequeathed to Mrs. Parry, and a bond to Paupiah, assigned to me above seven years ago, dated in 1798 for Pags. 51,000, which bond was granted in part payment of the Tinnevelly Balance, and the amount of which I actually paid to Paupiah. The bond is witnessed by the late Mr. Johnston and Col. Barrett, and, of course, cannot be a forgery. I have also an interest, and you know it is a fair one, in a balance claimed by Moonea Pillay's Executors, for grain seized by Jaffeir Cawn when Col. Macaulay turned Moonea

Pillay's people out of the Tinnevelly country.

"These are my claims; it will, however, I dare say, be stated that I am interested in Paupiah's claims and am one of his Executors.[1] It is true, he has nominated me one of his Executors and left me Pags. 40,000 of Nawab's paper when consolidated, but I have not acted, nor do I mean to act, as his Executor, nor from the Legacy do I expect to get a fanam, as he died much involved. I was under the necessity of paying his funeral charges and now support his family.[2]

"I might have purchased or been agent for many of the claims preferred had I been so inclined; but, believing as I did that the greater part, if not the whole, were forgeries, I uniformly declined having anything to do with them, and I consider myself fortunate in having acted in this manner; and I also, whenever spoken to by any friends who were desirous of speculating in Nawab's bonds, always recommended them to have nothing to do with such speculations. This, Sherson will tell you is true; he had been offered a share with Orme, Grant and Anstruther."

Sir George Barlow's Government, on receiving the Commissioner's memorandum of the 6th February

[1] Paupiah died in January, 1809, soon after his acquittal, and while the trials against Roya Reddi Row and Batley were proceeding.

[2] Parry continued to do this until his death in 1824.

took immediate steps to silence Parry and his associates. On the morning of February the 8th, Maitland was removed from his office of Justice of the Peace, and Roebuck, who was Paymaster-General and Master of the Mint, in addition to his private occupation as a trader, was transferred to Vizagapatam.[1] In Parry's case, Government decided to make use of the previous order of banishment, which had never been put into force, but still remained on the file; and he received a letter from the Chief Secretary in the following terms:—

To Mr. Thomas Parry. Public Dept.

Sir,

The Hon'ble the Governor in Council considering it indispensable that the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors for your embarkation for England should now be enforced, I am directed to desire that you will be prepared to embark by the earliest opportunity.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. BUCHAN,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Fort St. George,
8th February, 1809.

Parry immediately wrote to Government asking for the reason for this sudden enforcement of the old

[1] He was 60 years old, and died there almost at once.

order of banishment, and submitted to the Court of Directors a formal memorandum containing 36 lengthy paragraphs,[1] setting out the services he had rendered to the country, the extent of his trading and other interests, the dependence of so many persons on him for employment, and all other matters likely to induce the Court of Directors to reverse the order of Sir George Barlow in Council.

Meantime the Commissioners continued their investigations, and eventually had the good sense to reverse their previous decision with regard to Reddi Row's bond, which they finally declared to be a forgery. They also rejected many other bonds propounded by the same person, on the ground that these, too, were forgeries. Reddi Row died suddenly in July, 1810, and was generally believed to have committed suicide from fear of the consequences of the Commissioners' findings.

When the Commissioners had concluded their deliberations, out of thirty million pounds' worth of bonds on which claims were made before them, only two and a half million pounds' worth were adjudged to be genuine.

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[1] Reproduced in Part II.

Once again the Government of Madras found themselves on much too slender ground to enforce their order against Parry. The October fleet came and went, and Parry made no effort either to secure a passage in advance or to go when the time came.

Nevertheless he did not know from day to day whether the Court of Directors would confirm Sir George Barlow's decision. He could not, therefore, enter into any fresh business commitments in Madras, and he spent his time between February, 1809, and the end of the year in arranging his affairs so that David Pugh could carry on the business without him if necessary.

By November, 1809, Parry had heard nothing further. He therefore made up his mind to transfer himself to Ceylon, where he still had considerable business interests. He put in a certain amount of time at Trincomalee, at Galle, and finally at Colombo, where he stayed with the Governor, General Maitland, whose permission he obtained to trade there. Ceylon had become a Crown Colony, and the Governor, who was probably related to Parry's friend R. A. Maitland, was in no way bound by Sir George Barlow's decision.

When the excitement over the forgery cases had begun to die down, and when, towards the end of 1810,

Parry heard that Reddi Row had at last been fully exposed, he returned to Madras.

The order for his banishment was never enforced, although once again it was not actually withdrawn from the file. On the 26th February, 1813, he wrote to the Chief Secretary to Government, asking for its withdrawal, and adding:—

> "Although owing to the great indulgence shown to me by the Honourable the Governor in Council, the public order of the 8th February, 1809, has not been acted on, it still remains in force, and occasions very serious detriment and inconvenience to me in my mercantile pursuits."

In reply the Chief Secretary wrote:—

> "It is not the desire nor the intention of the Governor in Council[1] to enforce the order of the 8th February, 1809, so long as your conduct may continue to afford grounds for suspending the execution of that order."

And with that, Parry had to rest content; but why, it may be asked, did Parry, who had no personal interest in these bonds, take so prominent a part in bringing the forgers to book? Let him answer this question in his own words, written in 1809 to Col. Bannerman:—

> "Acquainted as I was with the object the parties who conducted these proceedings had in view,

---

[1] Sir George Barlow was still Governor.

which was to impose on the fund appropriated expressly for the relief of the fair creditors of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, false and spurious claims amounting to many crores of pagodas, it would have been dastardly in me, indeed criminal, not to have given my aid to bring the perpetrators of such wicked acts to punishment."

And:—

"I have given all the aid in my power to bring these criminals to justice, and I am sure you will not blame me for doing so . . . it would have been cowardly, if not criminal in me to have kept aloof convinced as I was of their guilt.

"If this, then, be the offence of which I am accused by this Government to the Court of Directors, tell them I acknowledge it."

Sir Alexander Cardew refers to a round robin addressed to the Commissioners by many of the other mercantile houses in Madras, and interprets it as a vote of confidence in the Commissioners and a condemnation of Parry and his associates. But the fact that the Commissioners eventually rejected over twenty-seven million pounds' worth of the bonds which were placed before them surely affords sufficient explanation of why Parry's activities did not commend themselves to some of the other merchants.

Apart from the personal inconvenience to which Parry was put, he had had to contribute largely to the cost of the various prosecutions. He wrote:—

> "Had I not done so they must have been abandoned altogether for want of means of paying professional men to conduct them . . .
>
> "The opposite side, who are paid and supported by Government, use every artifice in their power to spin out and render the trials as tedious and expensive as possible."

Parry, as soon as he received the order of banishment, had at once ceased his activities against the forgers. He wrote:—

> "I have suffered enough already from my exertions to serve the Company and the creditors, and to save them from being robbed and plundered, and I am not *quite* certain of any reward for it from your Honours or from the creditors."

He certainly received none, except the satisfaction of eventually seeing his action regarding the forged bonds completely vindicated.

In the light of all the facts now disclosed, it is difficult to absolve Sir George Barlow from criticism; but it seems plain that the true villain of the piece, and the prime mover of the ill-advised Government in all its interventions, was the Advocate-General, Anstruther.

Parry, in fact, summed up the whole matter with great fairness and moderation when he wrote:—

> "The Government has been led into these imprudent measures in consequence of their reliance on the advice and opinion of Mr. Anstruther, and having once committed themselves, they, I suppose, think it would be derogatory to acknowledge that they have been wrong."

Parry's private account, 1809

A few further extracts from Parry's personal account, this time from the 1809 ledger, are here reproduced:—

			P.	F.	C.
Feb.	1	J. Grant for drawing of the San Thome Castle ...	25	0	0
Feb.	25	George Lawson for £7 of Europe Bank Notes ...	17	22	40
April	8	Native poor fund for Febry., March and April ...	9	0	0
		Paid bill in Gold ...	10	0	0
		Paid Broadhurst & Co. for a round hat ...	4	22	40
April	21	Paid for landing a Chest. of Tea, one box sweetmeat and 3 Tubs of Sugar Candy ...	0	7	40
April	29	Paid bills for road expense ...	100	0	0
May	25	Paid his Butler for Servants Wages for April ...	37	12	20
July	25	Paid Mr. Schuler for a Hat ...	5	22	40
Sept.	9	Paid for Charity to a European Woman ...	10	0	0
		Paid Palanquin bearers in full for August ...	16	12	60

7

1811—1818

Parry returns to Madras—A stocking loom—Mrs. Parry's allowance—J. W. Dare—Conquest of Java, 1811—The Native Poor Fund, 1812—The Government Bank, 1813—Parry, Pugh & Breithaupt, 1813—The Company's Charter renewed, 1813—Parry's claim on the Nawab, 1813—Joseph Pugh, 1815—Parry's gardens—Parry's private account, 1818.

7

1811—1818.

Parry returns to Madras

On his return to Madras towards the end of 1810 Parry found Madras still in a state of ferment following on the military mutiny and the Carnatic Bonds forgery cases, and the general atmosphere was all against improved business conditions.

He was still in a low state of health, his domestic life had been broken up, the order of banishment was hanging over his head, and a man of weaker character might well have thrown up the sponge and proceeded home with a "hard luck" tale to his relatives. But the thought does not seem to have entered Parry's head, and he wrote at the time that he could not possibly go home because he would starve if he did.

On the contrary, immediately he returned to Madras he set about putting his house in order, and he seems to have been more determined than ever to put his concerns, as he said, "on a permanent basis."

A stocking loom

His tannery and indigo works continued to stand him in good stead, and one of his new ideas was the manufacture of hosiery in Madras, and he wrote home to his London Agents for a stocking loom with which to make trials:—

"It has often occurred to me that a stocking manufactory might be established here to great advantage. I have looked over all the works which describe the stocking loom, but I find it would be impossible to make one here. Let me recommend you to direct your attention to this business.

"By visiting some of the large stocking manufactories, you will see how it is carried on.

"I am not certain whether it is allowed to export a stocking loom; if it be, and the expense is not great, I recommend your having one made, and to send it out by the first opportunity.

"The materials, cotton and silk, are cheap enough in India, labour cheap, and the demand for stockings considerable. They might also be

exported to Botany Bay, the Isle of France, the Cape of Good Hope and America."

There is no evidence of the success or otherwise of this venture, or even whether the stocking loom ever materialised, but it affords another instance of the interest Parry took in the industrial development of Madras.

Mrs. Parry's allowance

In spite of his ill health and poor prospects, Parry decided this year to make still further provision for his wife and family in England. Mrs. Parry's allowance was accordingly increased from £400 to £600 per annum, plus any further sum she might require for John Parry's education.

J. W. Dare

There came to Madras this year, 1810, one who was destined to play an important part in the years to come in the fortunes of Parry's firm. This was J. W. Dare, who arrived overland from Bombay, where he had been assistant in the Naval Victualling Department, to take up an appointment as head assistant to the Naval Victualling Controllers in Madras. He held this appointment until the end of 1818, when, as will be seen later, he joined Parry as a partner.

Conquest of Java, 1811

In 1811 an expedition left Madras under command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty for the conquest of Java. After heavy fighting the Dutch Settlements there were reduced, but they were handed back to Holland at the general peace which followed the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.

Parry had in recent years more than once suggested to London that they should take the islands of Java and Sumatra, and when in 1807 a secret naval expedition had left Madras for the eastward, Parry expressed the hope that Java was the object of attack. On the 25th October, 1807, he had written:—

> "Sir E. Pellew left this place on the 19th inst. in the *Culloden*, accompanied by the *Powerful*, the *Dasher* and *Samarang*—Sloop of War—and the *Worcester* Indiaman and *Byramgore* as transports. He has taken with him 500 men of the H.M. 30th Regt.[1]—a company of Artillery and Pioneers. It is said he is to proceed for Penang where he is to be joined by more troops from Bengal. The general opinion is that Java is the object of attack."

This expedition may have been destined for Borneo, though no mention of it is made in Wilson's very complete *History of the Madras Army*.

[1] 1st Batt. The East Lancashire Regt.

FACSIMILE SIGNATURES OF THOMAS PARRY AND JOHN WILLIAM DARE.

Taken from a document dated the 18th May, 1821.

Parry was appointed by Government in 1812 to the Committee of Management of the Native Poor Fund and Native Infirmary.

The Native Poor Fund, 1812

Sir George Barlow still held the office of Governor of Madras, and Parry therefore seems to have very quickly got into his good books again, after the Carnatic Debt troubles.

Parry had been a regular subscriber to various Madras charities for a number of years, but the first evidence we have of his generous nature is in 1801, when a list was circulated throughout the Presidency for subscriptions for the relief of widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the late Mysore War.

The list was headed by the Governor of Madras, Lord Clive, and then came Thomas Parry with a four-figure donation in pagodas, which must therefore have exceeded Rs. 3,500.

Unfortunately the book which contains this list (a contemporary record) was borrowed from the library of an upcountry club some ten years ago and has apparently not been returned. It has not therefore been possible to check the exact figure; the fact, however, is recorded here as an indication of Parry's generosity even at a comparatively early age.

His ledger accounts show that he continued to subscribe to charities and to individual "hard-up cases" throughout his life, and his Will, in which over 30 beneficiaries are mentioned, gives further proof of the largeness of his heart.

He was always ready to concern himself in the collection of subscriptions, and to subscribe himself, for the assistance of others in straitened circumstances, as the following three letters will show:—

Mrs. M. Chinnery, London. 22nd October, 1807.

My dear Mrs. Chinnery,

I am enabled through the kindness of some of your friends here, who esteem and respect you, as you deserve, to make you the enclosed remittance for £100, which although a small sum, will afford you some assistance in the distressed state under which you so greatly suffer. I hope by the January ships to send you another bill.

Mrs. Parry and Eliza are on board the *Dover Castle*. You will, I know, be happy to see them. You must excuse me for not writing you a long letter. I beg you will believe me, with unfeigned regard.

Mrs. Lambert, Birmingham. 22nd October, 1807.

My dear Cousin,

I have only just time to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th February being very much hurried in consequence of the departure for England of Mrs. Parry and our dear little girl, who are embarked on board the *Dover Castle* expected to sail this evening. By the next despatch you shall hear from me very fully. In the meantime I beg you will make use of the enclosed bill for £50 on Mr. Ross and Mr. Burgie, which I hope will reach you safe and afford you some little assistance.

Mrs. Chinnery, London. 20th October, 1808.

Your two very kind letters of the 28th April came to hand only a short time ago. It has given me more satisfaction than I can describe to find that the trifling remittance which I was in some part instrumental in forwarding to you by the October fleet of last year, was in such good time, and that it contributed in some, although it could be only in a small degree, towards the relief of yourself and your dear children. I wish most sincerely it had been in my power to have done more, and more would certainly have been done, had I not been prevented from attending to the subscription by illness and had not the gentleman

to whom I unfortunately trusted the furtherance of it neglected it altogether.

I have now the pleasure to send a bill for £32 being the balance of what I have collected, and as you are so anxious to be acquainted with the names of those who were desirous of contributing to your relief, I forward the original paper which was circulated on the occasion.

The Government Bank, 1813

During the year 1813, Sir George Barlow's term of office as Governor of Madras came to an end, and the Hon. John Abercromby was appointed to succeed him.

Business conditions in Madras were still poor, and Parry continued to find it difficult to do much more than keep his head above water. When, therefore, the post of Cashier and Accountant of the Government Bank fell vacant, he applied for it.

The appointment was for five years, and was made by the Court of Directors on the recommendation of the Governor.

The Hon. John Abercromby selected Parry, and sent the following recommendation to London:—

"In selecting Mr. Parry I am actuated by a conviction that his habits of business, integrity and abilities qualify him to discharge the responsible duties of the situation for which I have the honour to propose him."

This Government Bank had been founded in 1805, but was apparently "more a treasury than a Bank."

The appointment to the Bank being for five years, Parry had to retire from his own business altogether for that period. He left his affairs in the hands of his nephew, David Pugh, who had then been out in Madras seven years, and of a new-comer, Christopher Breithaupt.

Parry, Pugh & Breithaupt, 1813

Breithaupt was a relative of Parry's by marriage, and is shown in the official registers of the time as a "Native of India." He was the son of a Danish missionary, the Rev. John Christian Breithaupt, and a road in Vepery, Breithaupt's Road, is named after him.

The business was for the time being carried on under the name of Parry, Pugh and Breithaupt.

The Charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1813 for a period of twenty years. For this purpose an exhaustive enquiry was held by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, before which the aged Warren Hastings gave evidence.

The Company's Charter renewed, 1813

The result was that the Company lost their trade monopoly so far as India was concerned, but they retained their monopoly of the important China tea trade.

Their position in India from now onwards was that of one competitor among many, but their competition remained powerful, and the free merchants did not greatly benefit from the new Charter for some years. The Company, in fact, continued to buy Indian produce at fantastic prices, with the only result that they kept the free merchant out of the trade and lost enormous sums in the process.

Parry's claim on the Nawab, 1813

It has been mentioned previously that when Parry left the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1801, he did so with three years salary overdue. He duly submitted a claim amounting to 12,983 pagodas, or Rs. 45,500, to the Commissioners appointed to settle the Carnatic Debts, but this was not passed for payment until 1813. The delay was partly due to Fort St. George raking up the circumstances, not of his 1809 banishment, but of his earlier troubles with the Madras Government in 1800. The Board of Directors, however, once more decided in Parry's favour, and he was eventually paid principal plus simple interest, amounting in all to pagodas 20,863, or about Rs. 75,000.

Payment was made in the form of 6% Government Bonds at par, and constituted a very nice windfall.

It is interesting to note that the Accountant-General who passed the payment was Parry's old partner George Garrow, though we hasten to repeat that the authority for the payment came from London.

Joseph Pugh, 1815

In 1815 another young nephew, Joseph Pugh, arrived and joined his brother as an assistant. He is shown in the official registers as having arrived in the *City of London* from the Isle of France and was probably stationed at Mauritius for a period before coming on to Madras.

Joseph Pugh rose to be senior partner in the firm in 1839, and retired in 1841. He has the distinction of being the first senior partner of the firm to retire to England, both his predecessors, Parry and Dare, having died in harness.

Parry's gardens

The term "garden house" was applied to the country houses on Choultry Plain for good reasons, and the owners vied with each other in beautifying the ground round their houses.

Parry, too, was a keen horticulturist, and was constantly importing seeds, trees, shrubs and fruit trees

from England, the Cape and from other parts of the world.

Many of the flowering trees and shrubs now to be seen in Madras can no doubt be traced back to these pioneers.

Parry's private account, 1818

Further extracts from Parry's personal ledger account, for the year 1818, follow. The pagoda had been replaced by the rupee as the standard of value in Madras some years previously, but the books of Messrs. Parry, Pugh and Breithaupt were still kept in the former currency.

The pagoda was now worth about 8sh.

1818.			Pgs.	F.	C.
Feb.	6	Paid Jno. T. Weekes for Pomatum Lavender Water and Hair Powder	3	28	40
Mar.	18	Paid Mr. Flower for an assessment on a House No. 8 in Nungambaukam ...	48	0	0
		Paid Mr. Flower for an assessment on a House No. 58 in Parsavakam	36	0	0
		Paid Mr. Flower for an assessment on a House No. 1 in St. Thome	12	0	0
		Paid Mr. Flower for an assessment on a House No. 38 in Parsavakam	7	9	0
		Paid Mr. Flower for an assessment on a House No. 37 in Parsavakam	6	0	0
		Paid Mr. Flower for an assessment on a House No. 59 in Parsavakam	4	36	0
April	7	Paid a cooly for bringing grapes from Pondicherry ...	0	12	60

1818.			Pgs.	F.	C.
April	13	Paid Prins & Co. for a bottle of French Prunes ...	1	22	40
April	29	Paid Capt. Moffatt for Garden Seeds	6	25	25
June	23	Paid for a shaving box, and 2 lbs. of lint ...	0	40	40
July	15	Paid Mr. Weekes for 3 pairs of Black silk stockings ...	6	0	0
July	15	Paid for Malmsey Wine ...	200	0	0
Aug.	3	A butt of Beer received from Mr. Richardson per *Aurora* £12-17-11 @ 8/- per pagoda ...	32	6	26
Aug.	10	Paid for cutting a large looking glass ...	0	22	40
Aug.	28	Jno. Campbell, for 3 cases contg. Fruit trees received p. *Waterloo*	111	25	25
Sept.	7	Paid 5 Palankeen Bearers from hence to Sadras ...	1	15	0
Nov.	12	Paid landing charges for Corks, and bottling of a Butt of Beer	2	17	0

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1819—1822

Parry and Dare, 1819—Improving conditions—Mary Ann Carr—The partnership results, 1819 to 1822—Parry Dare & Co., 1823—A shipowner again—Shipbuilders—Shipping Agents—Home passages—H. E. The Governor's passage—Passages for time-expired soldiers—Naval Agents—Banking and Agency—Banking accounts—General trading—The Pantheon—Parry's private account, 1819 to 1822.

1819—1822

Parry and Dare, 1819

In August 1818, Parry completed his term of five years with the Government Bank and returned to his own firm. His young partners had been doing reasonably well, and the profits of Messrs. Parry, Pugh and Breithaupt for the year 1818 amounted to Rs. 86,000.

There was perhaps some disagreement in regard to the sharing of profits on Parry's return; but whatever the reason, David Pugh and Christopher Breithaupt went their own way together at the end of the year, and traded under the name of Pugh & Breithaupt, and later as Pugh & Co. They continued to use part of Parry's Buildings as their offices and godowns for some years, but they did not long survive, and, in 1820, David Pugh sailed for England.

Parry, from the 1st January, 1819, entered into partnership with John William Dare, who, it will be remembered, had been assistant to the Naval Victualling Controllers in Madras since 1810.

The new partnership traded as Messrs. Parry and Dare, and their books opened with most of the balances brought forward from Messrs. Parry, Pugh & Breithaupt's 1818 ledger.

In J. W. Dare, Parry undoubtedly made a very good choice, for he was not only a fine business man, but must also have been a great character. In spite of the fact that his name was dropped by the firm on his death in 1838, it is still remembered both in Madras and South Arcot.

Until quite recent times a Madras ghariwallah or rickshaw cooly would proceed without question to Parry's Buildings if instructed to go to "Dare House", and the firm's dubashes have, until well into the present century, used the prefix "Dare" before their own names in the same manner as a Government title.

The last of the firm's dubashes asked, and was granted, permission on his retirement to call his own house in Mylapore "Dare House."

Dare was Chairman of the Madras Chamber of Commerce in 1837, the year after its foundation, and he died in Madras in 1838.

JOHN WILLIAM DARE.

From a crayon drawing in the possession of Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd., Madras.

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Improving conditions

Parry was now, at long last, sailing into calmer waters. The conditions under which a free merchant worked from 1819 onwards were very much more favourable than they had ever been during his long stay in Madras; a period of business prosperity had set in, and both he and J. W. Dare were well equipped to take advantage of it.

Parry, besides his thirty years experience in the trade and commerce of Madras, had had valuable training in insurance and banking, first as secretary to the Carnatic Insurance Company, and more recently as cashier and accountant to the Government Bank. Dare, on the other hand, brought valuable connections with him as a result of his previous work with the Naval Victualling Controllers in Bombay and Madras. The combination was therefore a good one, and from now until his death in 1824 Parry had no cause for anxiety regarding his financial position.

Mary Ann Carr

Parry had not seen his wife since she sailed home in 1807, and he never did see her again. She was still alive and in England when he made his Will in 1823, and she probably outlived him, but she never returned to India.

At about the time of which we are writing,—probably earlier, possibly later—Parry took a Miss Mary Ann Carr "under his roof", and he made no secret of their relationship when, in 1822, he took his son, Thomas William Parry, to be christened at St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George.

The entry in the register there reads:—

> "Parry—Thomas William, son of Thomas Parry of Madras, Merchant, by Mary Ann Carr, Spinster, born 11th December, 1821, was baptised this 17th day of May, 1822, by me."

Thomas William Parry died a few months later, and was buried at St. Mary's Church.

Miss Carr was probably an Anglo-Indian, and Parry did not forget her in his Will.

Another son, Edward Moorat Parry, was born in August, 1823, but died when one year old, and was also buried in the Fort Church.

In this case Miss Carr's name was not mentioned in the register, and the fact that the child's second name was Moorat suggests that there may have been some connection between Parry and the family of a wealthy Armenian merchant of that name, mentioned later.

A glance at the registers of St. Mary's Church will show that liaisons such as these were not then

unfashionable, and it must be remembered we are still concerned with pre-Victorian days.

The partnership results, 1819 to 1822

When the partnership opened in 1819, each partner put Rs. 50,000[1] capital into the business, and each took half the profits. As was still the custom, Parry retained his full interest in his tannery at San Thome and in his indigo works in South Arcot, and the profits from these ventures were added to his share of the profits from his partnership with Dare.

The profits of the Parry and Dare partnership in 1819 amounted to Rs. 1,00,270, and Parry made a further profit of Rs. 26,000 on his indigo works, and more still on his tannery. At this stage he put an additional Rs. 50,000 stock into the firm, making Rs. 1,00,000 in all, and he had Rs. 67,050 to his credit in current account at the end of the year.

Profits continued to increase, and Parry's own share, excluding the tannery, amounted in 1820 to Rs. 1,05,067.

At the end of the year Parry paid an additional Rs. 1,00,000 stock into the firm, as did Dare, making the total Rs. 4,00,000 for the two partners.

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1 The Rupee was still worth 2sh.

The firm did well again in 1821, and Parry's share of profits amounted to Rs. 1,32,662 which included 8% interest on his capital account, and at the end of the year Parry held Rs. 2,00,000 stock, added to which his credit in current account amounted to Rs. 1,60,687.

Parry must by now have been very well off. In addition to the Rs. 3,60,687 held by his firm he had sums to unknown amounts invested in British, American and Indian securities, and he also owned his indigo works, his tannery, and six houses in Madras.

His share of profits in 1822 was Rs. 1,34,598, but in October that year he made his nephew, Joseph Pugh, a present of Rs. 1,00,000, and both he and Dare drew, on the 31st December, the whole of their stock—Rs. 2,00,000 each—to credit of their respective current accounts.

Parry Dare & Co., 1823

Parry finished the year 1822 with Rs. 2,92,339 to his credit in current account, and, from the 1st January, 1823, Joseph Pugh was brought into the partnership, which was now continued under the style of Parry Dare & Co.

Parry was then 54 years old and he seems to have become a sleeping partner, or, at any rate, not

to have given his whole time to the business; for, on the admission of Joseph Pugh, Parry's share of the profits dropped from one half to one quarter; Dare retained his half, and Joseph Pugh took the remaining quarter.

Such were the profits of Parry's firm during the years 1819 and 1822, and we may now consider how these profits were made.

Parry and Dare were, first and foremost, a firm of private bankers, and, like all of their kind in those days, they employed their surplus funds in general trading. In particular they became shipowners, ship-builders, and shipping agents.

A shipowner again

It will be recollected that Parry had lost large sums of money as a shipowner during the years 1794 to 1808, and had in the latter year made up his mind to have "nothing further to say to ships." In 1818, however, conditions on the high seas were considerably improved following upon Trafalgar and Waterloo, and the resulting general world peace. Shipping therefore came into its own again, and, during 1819, Messrs. Parry & Dare purchased the ship *General Palmer* which they employed on the

home trade for the carriage of passengers and cargo. This ship had been built in Calcutta a few years earlier, and Parry and Dare paid Rs. 1,00,000 for her.

The following certificate was granted to the firm by her builder, James Montgomery of Calcutta:—

> "I, James Montgomery of Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal, Ship Builder, do certify that the Ship now called the *General Palmer* at present commanded by Captain M. O'Brien, was in the course of the year One thousand, eight hundred and fifteen built by me at Sulkea and was on the fifteenth day of April, One thousand eight hundred and sixteen launched under the name of the *General Palmer* and the said ship was sold to Thomas Stewart Esq. That the said ship has two Decks and three Masts, that her length from the fore part of the Main Stem to the after part of the Stern Post aloft is one hundred and sixteen feet and three inches, her breadth at the broadest part above the Main Wales is thirty two feet and three inches, her height between Decks is six feet and two inches and admeasures five hundred and ten tons thirty two ninety fourths, that she is ship rigged and square Stern built, has poop and fore castle Decks, has a single Stern and single quarter Galleries, has ten scuttles on each side below and three scuttles and eight Ports on each side of the Upper Deck.

Given under my hand at Sulkea aforesaid this fifteenth day of April in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

JAMES MONTGOMERY."

The *General Palmer*, at 510 tons burden, was small compared with other ships for which the firm acted as agents; the *Golconda*, for instance, another Calcutta-built ship of which Parry and Dare were part owners, registered 820 tons. A big East India-man, however, ran up to over 1,400 tons.

Shipbuilders

The three main shipbuilding ports in India at this time were Calcutta, Bombay and Cochin, and Messrs. Parry and Dare had a shipbuilding partnership with a Dane in Cochin named William Schuler, and, in 1820, they received a contract from the Commissioner to H. M. Navy at Trincomalee to build five "King's Ships." These were a schooner, three frigates[1] of 28 guns each, and a tank-ship. The latter was probably a water supply vessel.

Cochin was at that time a shipbuilding port of first rate importance owing to the sheltered back-waters and its proximity to excellent and more than adequate timber supplies. Calcutta shipbuilders, for

[1] 28-gun frigates ran up to over 1,000 tons.

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instance, had to import their teak from as far away as Batavia, whereas Cochin was close to the rich forests of Travancore and Malabar. The forests of Burma were then unworked.

William Schuler was a clever designer, and felt confident that his frigates would, on equal terms, beat any similar craft built in Europe. One of the two he built, later christened the *Alligator,* seems to have justified his hopes and was a particularly fine vessel with a good turn of speed. The frigate was to the Royal Navy of those days what the cruiser is to-day; her speed being of the first importance.

These Cochin ships were built of Malabar teak with masts and spars of poon, which latter timber Schuler bought from Parsee merchants in Mangalore who worked the Mysore forests.

The schooner built by Schuler was a small two-masted fore-and-aft rigged ship and was called *H. M. S. Cochin;* probably the first and last vessel of that name in the Royal Navy.

The schooner and one of the frigates were, on completion, sailed down to Trincomalee and seem to have given great satisfaction. On the 24th June, 1820, Messrs. Parry and Dare wrote to Schuler:—

"The Young Gentleman who took round the Schooner has been stopping here a few days with

Mr. Dare and speaks of the good qualities of this little vessel in terms of admiration. She encountered the Gale and suffered nothing.

We also hear the Frigate spoke of as very superior to anything ever yet built in India."

Shipping Agents

Messrs. Parry and Dare's relations with the various ships for which they acted at Madras differed according as they were outright owners, part owners, or agents. As we have seen, they were owners of the *General Palmer*, and they were part owners of the *Golconda*, another Calcutta-built ship, two-thirds of which was owned by the commander—a Captain Edwards—and one-third by Messrs. Parry and Dare. An outline of the terms of this partnership, about which there had been some misunderstanding, were recorded by the firm in the following letter to the commander dated the 1st November, 1820:—

"We had the pleasure of writing to you on the 30th September, and your letters of the 4th, 11th, 13th and 14th ultimo have since been duly received.

We shall in the first instance reply to that part of your letter of the 13th ultimo respecting the conditions on which we expected to hold one third share in the *Golconda*, it being of the utmost

consequence, as you say, that we should at once come to a right understanding on the subject.

When we accepted the offer of one third part of the *Golconda* it was under a false impression on our minds that your proposals embraced the whole of one third of the interests of every description connected with the ship arising from freight, passage money, cargo or otherwise; had we supposed that you had a different arrangement in contemplation we certainly would not have taken a share in the *Golconda,* nor indeed would we, on any other conditions, take a share in any ship whatever, for we are convinced that nothing but misunderstanding can take place under an arrangement on a different principle. If the passage money were to be entirely at the disposal of the Commander, his interests must be constantly at variance with those of the owners.

Entertaining as we do these sentiments you will at once see that we cannot consent to hold any share in the *Golconda* except it be on the following conditions:—

That the whole of the profits arising from passage money, freight, cargo laid in on account of the owners, or otherwise, shall be considered as belonging to the owners, that is two thirds on your account and one third on our account.

That you shall be allowed the usual pay for commanding the ship and in consideration of the

trouble you will have in laying in stock for and in other respects regarding the passengers you shall have credit with the owners for twelve and a half per cent. on the gross amount of passage money.

That on all purchases and sale of cargo, and on passage money received by you, where no agency has been previously charged, you shall (exclusive of the above 12½% on passage money) be entitled to draw the usual commission, and—

That on all business connected with the ship at Madras either on the purchases or sale of cargo or in procuring passengers we are likewise entitled to the usual commission.

On these terms, should they accord with your views, we shall be most happy to hold the share you have proposed and we accepted to take in the *Golconda.* Should they, however, not meet with your approbation we can only say that although we shall regret to give it up, we cannot consent to hold it under any other arrangement. Therefore, thus circumstanced, if you do object, we would consider the remittance made (as intended for our third share) only as an advance to you."

The terms here outlined were duly accepted.

Home passages

Fares to England still ruled high in 1820, and the following extracts from the firm's letter book give some idea of the accommodation then available and the prices charged:—

6th January:—One cabin alone remains disengaged. This is about 8 by 7 feet on the Gun (or Lower) Deck—the price is Rs. 2,500.

8th January:—I will let Mrs. Stewart have the cabin for £300, a few rupees is not an object, especially as some of her friends are going in the ship.

14th January:—There is one cabin vacant on the *Almorah* on deck about 8′ × 6′ 4″, the aftermost one with a water closet. The price is Madras rupees 3,000.

19th January:—I accept the offer of Rs. 4,500 for the cabin for the two ladies you mention. It is understood that this cabin is one of those marked Rs. 3,000 for a single person, before the one intended for General Ball, also that the ladies have not any children.

27th January:—We keep at Mrs. Carpenter's disposal one half of the great cabin, the price is Rs. 7,000.

12th September:—We cannot accept Rs. 700 for the passage for Lieut. Snell and yourself, but if a small sized cabin between you will be

sufficient accommodation we shall be happy to furnish you with a passage for Rs. 800 or Rs. 400 each.

18th September:—This day we have an application for half your Round House, the price we intimated would be ten thousand sicca rupees and which we think will be gladly given, or more, for a lady and three children.

16th October:—We have the pleasure to annex a memo of the size and price of the cabins of the *Golconda* and from their great superiority we think them very reasonable.

Memo

		Rs.
Starboard Side.		
A cabin opposite the after hatchway ...	10′ × 8′ 8″	4,000
3 cabins before the above	10′ × 9′	3,500
Larboard Side.		
The cabin adjoining the Great Cabin ...	10′ 6″ × 8′	...
The one before the above	10′ × 8′ 6″	4,500
The next	10′ × 8′ 8″	4,000
The three next ...	10′ × 9′	3,500[1]

11th December:—We are aware that water closets become expensive, but they soon pay for

[1] The fact that the larger cabins cost less than the smaller ones suggests that the former were badly off for air and light.

themselves. However, if you fit your after cabins below, it may do now, (and you can on your arrival, if the ship is not sold, make other alterations). Mrs. Cochrane is satisfied with her cabin but would like it a little larger if you could effect it.

Freight here is gloomy indeed, the passengers expecting cabins for Rs. 1,500. We observe that you have reduced the price of the upper deck cabin to Rs. 5,000.

21st December:—We accept the offer of taking Mrs. Spottiswood's child and the female attendant on the *Golconda* for a passage to England for the sum of one thousand rupees, for which amount we beg to send our receipt.

We shall also afford accommodation (on charter party terms) for the brother of the female servant, the expense of which will be only two hundred and ten rupees.

H.E. the Governor's passage

On the 7th February, 1820, Messrs. Parry and Dare booked accommodation in the *General Palmer* for the retiring Governor of Madras, the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot[1] and his family. The inclusive charge was £3,000, and the details of the

[1] His son, a Sessions Judge in 1822, who later lived on the south bank of the Adyar River gave Elliot's Beach its name.

cabins provided and the general terms of the contract entered into were recorded in the following letter from the Governor, who must have had a very efficient Private Secretary:—

> "In order to obviate anything like a misunderstanding, I beg to say that I engage the two after cabins, and the two cabins before them in the Upper Deck, and the After Cabin with the cabin before it on the Lower Deck (Starboard Side), of the ship *General Palmer*, for myself and family, and for which accommodation I agree to pay you the sum of Three Thousand Pounds Sterling either in Cash or Company's Paper at Par (unless the Paper should bear a premium which of course would be mine). It is understood the ship is to remain for me (if I require it) until the 31st July, my paying or causing to be paid one month's demurrage, or Five Hundred Pounds Sterling for such detention. It is, however, further understood that, should I embark prior to the 31st day of May, that no such demurrage is to be paid, but the demurrage to commence on the 1st June, and the extent to be one month.
>
> I am to be at liberty to go on board the *Palmer*, or send on Board, to make the necessary arrangements for my cabins, and fitting them up as often as I may think proper."

These terms were duly accepted by Messrs. Parry and Dare who, after explaining the intricacies of the

rupee-sterling exchange to the Governor, added the following stipulation to the terms already agreed upon:—

> "All risks relative to your Passage money, rest with us till the demurrage commences, and subsequently to that will be borne by you. Consequently, should any accident happen to the *General Palmer* from stress of weather so as to disable her from performing the voyage (if you are ready to embark), if such accident should occur prior to the 31st May, we shall consider ourselves not entitled to call upon you for any Passage money."

Presumably, therefore, if the *General Palmer* was disabled between the 1st of June and the 31st of July, the Governor paid his £3,000 and got nothing for it.

Passages for time-expired soldiers

In addition to finding passengers to fill the cabins of their ships, Messrs. Parry and Dare had to do what they could to fill them with cargo. This, in the case of the present voyage of the *General Palmer*, they found extremely difficult, and on the 18th January, 1820, they wrote to their agents in Calcutta:—

> "We regret to say that the state of our markets is such as to render it next to an impossibility

our getting a full cargo from this Port to England."

Accordingly on the 24th January, 1820, they quoted the Government of Madras for the carriage of 150 to 300 time-expired soldiers to England:—

"We have the honour to announce the arrival of our ship the *General Palmer,* and understanding that the Government require a vessel to convey two hundred Invalids or time-expired men to England, we beg leave to tender the *General Palmer* to convey to England any number of Invalids or time-expired men, above One Hundred and fifty in number (she having been engaged for that purpose last voyage) on the following terms, *viz.:*

Twenty-five Pounds Sterling per man, we providing them with provisions, water, etc. or Eighteen Pounds Sterling per man, the Company providing them with Provisions, water, etc.

Two-thirds of the amount of the Passage money payable here, the other third on the arrival of the ship in England.

The Officers going in charge of the Invalids to be accommodated on the usual allowance.

The *General Palmer* is a ship of the finest description and will, with facility, afford superior accommodation for Three Hundred men, and carries a Surgeon.

> We, at the same time, beg to tender the Ship, in addition to the above, for any goods the Honourable Company may have to send to England, at the low rate for Freight of Six Pounds per ton, and to any extent under Four Hundred Tons, amount of the Freight, payable as usual."

Parry and Dare's estimate for feeding these men, therefore, amounted to £7 per head for a voyage which was estimated to take from 5 to 6 months. This quotation of a little over £1 per man per month must have been calculated to cover a small profit for the ship, but Government considered they could do it cheaper, and Parry and Dare's alternative quotation of £18 per man without food and water was accepted.

In addition to her crew and full complement of cabin passengers and some cargo, the *General Palmer* eventually sailed with "96 invalids, 22 time-expired men, one man released from jail, one man returned from desertion, 13 women and 5 children." The accommodation for these soldiers must, therefore, have been quite dreadful.

The *General Palmer,* it may be noted, was insured "out and Home against all seasons at six per cent."

Dare, having for some years past worked in the office of the Naval Victualling Controllers in Madras, brought with him a useful naval agency.

Naval Agents

The chief Naval base in the East was then at Trincomalee, and Messrs. Parry and Dare were appointed Agents in Madras of the Commissioners to His Majesty's Navy at that port.

Parry and Dare, therefore, supplied considerable quantities of stores for the use of the Navy in eastern waters, and were asked in 1820 to send the Commissioners at Trincomalee a note on the possibility of their supplying the Navy's requirements of coir rope, canvas and spars. The firm accordingly sent him the following information:—

> "*Coir Rope.* The best rope we believe is made of the Maldive and Laccadive coir, and it appears to us that the best method of supplying His Majesty's Dock Yard at Trincomalee with that article, would be to appoint an agent at Cochin to purchase Coir Thread, and to forward it by the common vessels of the country to Trincomalee where an establishment might be formed at a trifling expence for the purpose of making it into rope. There is little doubt but a contract could be entered into for the supply of coir with some person at Cochin.

The following information respecting Coir and Coir Rope has been transmitted to us by our Correspondent at Cochin:—

'The Maldive and Laccadive Islands produce abundance of coir; they belong to the Beebee of Cananore who sells the coir made into yarn at about thirty eight rupees per candy of six hundred pounds. In time of war it has been sold as high as seventy rupees per candy. It is impossible to say what quantity of this kind can be procured, as the Beebee has never entered into any contract for it. She generally sends the coir yarn in her own ships to Calcutta.

At Anjengo coir yarn can be obtained at thirty rupees and at Cochin and Paliport at from twelve to fifteen rupees per candy. To make it into rope would cost about seven rupees. At Cochin about one thousand, at Paliport six hundred, and at Anjengo five hundred candies, may be procured annually. A contract may be entered into for coir of Travancore deliverable at Cochin (but not at any other port) from whence it could be easily freighted to Trincomalee.'

Coir and Coir Rope can be had at Colombo and Point de Galle but we know not at what price, nor have we any information as to the quantity which can be procured.

Cordage from the Aloe. A small quantity was made here formerly, but as the manufacturing

of it was soon abandoned we presume it was not found to answer.

Cordage from New Zealand and New South Wales. On this subject it is not in our power to afford any information. Communications betwixt this and New South Wales are not frequent.

Manilla Cordage. We believe that this cordage can be procured at Manilla in considerable quantities and of various dimensions, but there has not of late been much imported at this place.

Canvas. The best Canvas made in India is that fabricated at Beypore on the Malabar Coast by Mr. Shephard. The prices are as follows:—

Canvas from 1 to 6 measuring 40 yds. each Bolt Rs. 35 per bolt.

Canvas from 7 to 8 measuring 40 yds. each Bolt Rs. 21 per bolt.—and we are informed that about 500 Bolts can be had annually. This canvas is considered better than that made in Bengal, and it does not occur to us that there would be any difficulty in getting it sent to Trincomalee: The following are the prices for Bengal Canvas at Calcutta:—

1st sort from 15 Sicca rupees to 17 Sicca rupees per Bolt.

2nd sort from 5 Sicca rupees to 14 Sicca rupees per Bolt.—This Canvas is considered good

(especially the 1st sort) and is much used by ships of all burthen (both Country and Europe) and although not so durable as the English, is considered a most excellent substitute, and can be procured in very great quantities.

Some thousands of Bolts have been imported this year into Madras. We ourselves have imported nearly 1,000—it appears to us to be well wrought and close. The means of conveyance to Trincomalee offer daily, or to Madras, from where it could be forwarded regularly to Trincomalee.

Spars. On this subject we have received the following information from our Correspondent at Cochin:—

'The light red Poon from the forests of Mysore can be procured at Mangalore from Parsee merchants, who cut and bring them down from the Hills. They are considered equal in quality and goodness to any Spars in the world. The conveying of them to Trincomalee in private ships would be expensive, but they might be put on board any of His Majesty's ships which may touch at the Malabar Coast.' "

Banking and Agency

We have already stated that Banking and Agency formed the basis of Parry and Dare's business, and that by far the larger portion of their correspondence at this time was between them and their

numerous banking customers. Some of these letters are interesting, and here is one received from the distracted father of a son who seems to have sown rather more than his fair share of wild oats:—

> "If you knew my son, Lieut. J. Palmer, as well as I do, you would neither be astonished nor mortified at my rejection of his Bill, favouring Mr. Holman who, doubtless stands between you and loss in this particular transaction.
>
> My son went on Sick Certificate to Mauritius last year and landed there in June with a limited credit on my Agents; he left it in September for Java and Bengal, and is not yet arrived. In that short interval of residence, he appears to have expended Rs. 26,000 and to the extent of Rs. 23 or 24,000 of that sum I am the victim from the weakness of my friends, who thought it was for my honour to save this miscreant from a Jail. He is stated to have kept open House, and so has been the Dupe of hundreds. Mr. Holman's character leads me to promise that I will do all in my power to compel my son to discharge the Dft. you sold. I am growing old and talkative; but in grief and joy this same privilege may be respected. I have 11 other children, 2 destitute grandchildren and 6 nephews each of whom has a better claim to my protection than my eldest son, who has squandered property at my exclusive cost

within 12 years to twice as many thousand Pounds.

Dear Sirs, Your faithful servant,
J. PALMER."

A letter in lighter vein came from a customer in Cannanore; probably an officer in the regiment there:—

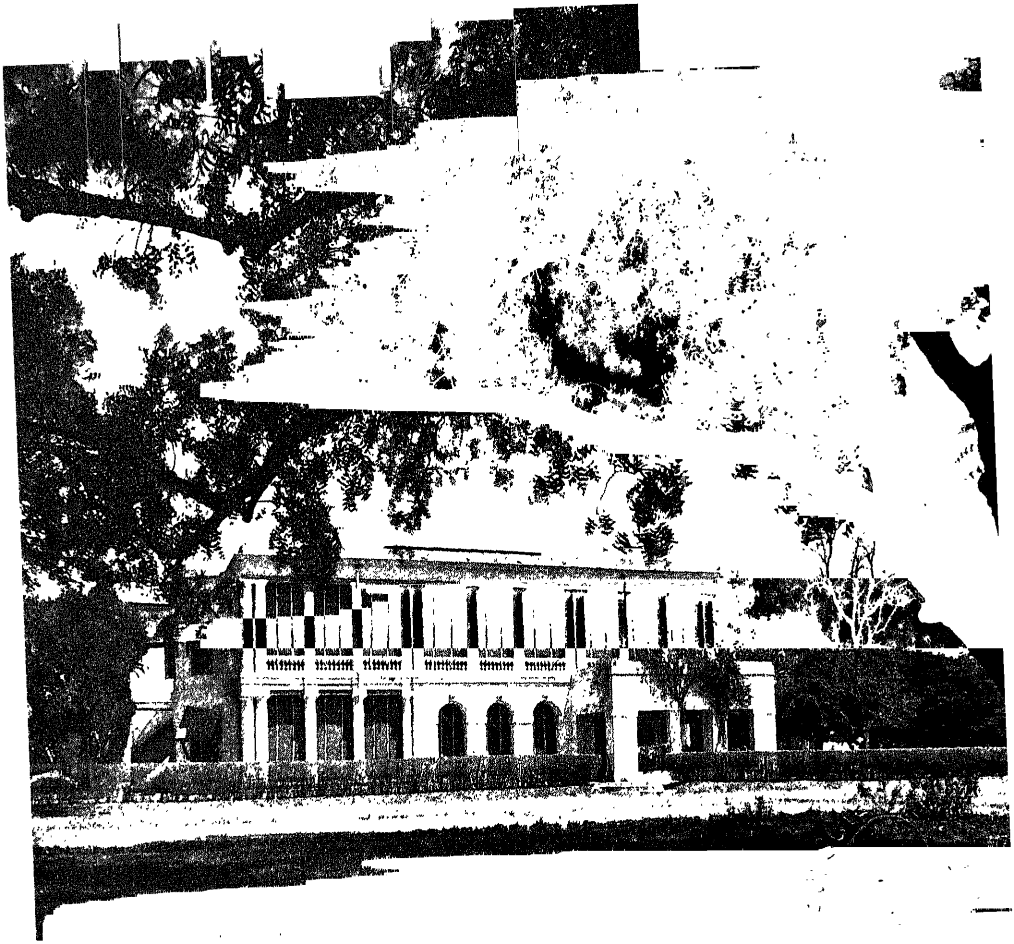
"My dear Parry,

I enclose an order on your firm for Madras Rupees 200 drawn by Monteith of ours when drunk I should imagine, from the time marked on the Chit which accompanied it and his having omitted to insert to whom it was payable, which omission, in a legal point of view, you might consider a sufficient reason to reject payment, but in the plausible way it comes to hand and probably having some faith left in the name of Ravenshaw, you may be disposed to discharge the amount without fear of any evil results.

Yours very truly,
H. RAVENSHAW."

The following letter is typical of some of the trifling commissions the firm were expected to carry out for their customers:—

"Do you think you could forward, free of duty, a small collection of Brass Hindu figures or Swamies to London? They are for the son of



WALLACE'S GARDENS, NUNGAMBAUKAM.
One of Thomas Parry's garden houses.

the Right Hon'ble George Canning who is my particular friend. If you could do so, you would much oblige me. I have purchased them from the Brahmins at Conjeevaram. In England they would be esteemed as great curiosities."

The following letter from the firm to an ensign in Bangalore seems a little unkind. It is badly expressed, and is not at all in Parry's style, and it is probably fair to assume it was written by Dare, who, it is clear from his other letters, was much more direct, bluff and downright than Parry:—

"We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 11th October enclosing a piece of paper stated to be an authority for your drawing on England for £400 per annum.

In reply we beg to observe that we cannot help expressing our astonishment at any person granting such a document intended for a letter of credit, or to suppose anyone upon such a piece of paper would cash a bill; and we must further observe that your bill is drawn on Paget & Bainbridge without any reference to the alleged credit, which states, your Bill is to be drawn on the person who signs that paper; however unacquainted anyone may be with Mercantile forms and customs, we can hardly think a child would not have known better than to have given you such a certificate.

We shall, however, transmit that document to England, with the first of your Bills and if honoured shall with pleasure pay you the amount on receipt of the intelligence."

Letters such as the following from the inevitable impecunious subaltern were not infrequent:—

"Being in want of some cash I will thank you to let me know as soon as possible, if you will accept a bill on my father's Agents (Paxton, Cockrell, Traill & Co.) England, paying the current interest. The sum I require is £50 and should you have no objection, I shall be obliged to you to forward the necessary papers for signature with your answer to this letter.

I have the honour to be
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
RT. ELLIS
CORNET, H.M. 13th Lt. Dragoons."

Banking accounts

Besides several hundred personal accounts, the 1820 ledgers contain the following:—

Gunrooms of H. M. ships:—*Eden, Topaze, Magicienne, Dauntless, Carrom, Liverpool, Curlew, Malabar, Orlando, Trincomalee, Seringapatam, Leander.*

Messes of the following regiments:—

30th Regt.; 1st Bat., 5th Regt.; Artillery at the Mount.

General trading

We have seen that Parry and Dare were bankers, general agents, shipowners, shipbuilders and shipping agents, and we now extract from their 1820 ledgers some of their trading accounts:—

1. *Inward consignments for sale by the firm.*
   French claret, "champaigne", brandy, port wine, hock, and coral.
2. *Outward consignments.*
   Cotton to London, linseed oil to Bombay, sundry goods to the Cape, Port Louis, Colombo and the Far East.
3. *Purchase accounts.*
   Sadlery, glassware, iron, longcloth, brandy, horse gram, beer, cotton, wheat, indigo, cloth, saltpetre, iron hoops, mace, Madras check handkerchiefs, linseed oil, canvas, Nellore cloth, pepper, soda, timber and general merchandise.

Parry and Dare also held stocks of "Hodgson's Ale".

The Pantheon

In 1821, and possibly earlier, Parry was on the Committee of the Pantheon, known also as the Public Rooms, or the Assembly Rooms. It was here that all public functions, subscription dances, and so on, were held.

The Pantheon had been built just before Parry's arrival in Madras, and was used until 1802 by the Governor for his larger entertainments. In this latter year, however, Lord Clive, the then Governor, very properly decided that a large hall attached to Government House was necessary, and the fine Banqueting Hall was then built.

On the 9th November, 1821, the Pantheon was sold to Mr. E. S. Moorat, the wealthy Armenian merchant mentioned earlier, and a few years later Government acquired the property from him, and the building now houses the Madras Museum.

Parry's private account, 1819 to 1822

Some extracts from Parry's private account in the 1819-1822 ledgers are given below. The accounts, it will be noticed, were kept in rupees, annas and pies for the first time.

1819.		Rs.	A.	P.
Feb. 13	Paid Mr. Henedge for breaking in a pair Horses for carriage and livery, etc., per bill Pags. 24-6-0. ...	84	7	6
Feb. 16	To Captain Harris for two Gray Horses. Pags. 300 ...	1,050	0	0
Mar. 3	Paid I. Bird for repairing a Six Stop Barrel Organ per bill ...	106	6	5
Mar. 30	Paid Sam's Widow as per his receipt ...	175	0	0
Apr. 10	Paid Laird Maggs & Child for a book on Gardening and three Cheeses per bill ...	36	12	0
Apr. 13	Paid I. Mosely for six oil paintings per receipt ...	315	0	0
	Paid Cardapah Carpenter in advance for making a Writing Desk ...	35	0	0
Apr. 16	Paid an assessment of a House No. 8, situated at Nungambaukam for 1818 per bill. Pags. 48 ...	168	0	0
	Paid an assessment of a House No. 58 at Pursavakam ...	126	0	0
Apr. 27	Paid Jungamiah for getting two Picture frames per bill	61	4	0
May 25	Paid Captain Cloridoe freight on Fruit Trees by the ship *Baslen* from the Cape per receipt ...	35	0	0
July 13	Paid his subscription to the Madras Assemblies at Pantheon ...	35	0	0
Oct. 7	Paid Colonel Traveller his donation towards erecting the Chapel per receipt ...	99	15	9
Nov. 22	Paid for one Dozen Champaigne sent to his Garden on the 27th August last ...	47	4	0

		Rs.	A.	P.
1820.				
Jan. 12	Paid I. Poulson for a Case of real Hollands Gin. Pags. 7	24	8	0
Jan. 17	Paid T. B. Garty for a Superfine Black Coat. Pags. 20 ...	70	0	0
Feb. 10	Paid his order of the 9th instant to Ramaswamy in full of House expenses, servants' wages for January ...	618	3	8
Feb. 16	Paid P. Scott his subscription to the Madras Literary Society ...	22	0	0
Mar. 25	Paid Import duty on Ivory Horns and Sea Horse Teeth per bill ...	67	2	1
Mar. 28	Brandy, for one Dozen Brandy sent to his Garden ...	21	0	0
June 14	Paid Captain G. Trustcott for two Water Closet Pumps and pipes per bill ...	420	0	0
Aug. 10	Paid I. Stewart for Wellington Coat and Waistcoat per bill Pags. 21-22-40 ...	75	4	0
Sep. 19	Paid Thos. Disley for repairing Watches, Chain, etc. per bill Pags. 39 ...	136	8	0
Dec. 18	Paid J. W. Dare for a Horse purchased by him from Mr. Dare, valued by Mr. Johnson	500	0	0
1821.				
Jan. 10	Paid Reid & Co. for repairing a Palankeen per bill ...	168	9	3
Apr. 11	Paid his order of this date to Ramaswamy for House Expenses, Servants' wages for March ...	551	7	0
Apr. 16	Paid D. Johnson his subscription to the Workshop per receipt ...	50	0	0

1821.			Rs.	A.	P.
Apr. 16	Paid D. Johnson his subscription to the Friend-in-need Society per receipt ...		20	0	0
	Paid his donation to the Friend-in-need Society ...		30	0	0
May 14	Paid Reid & Co. for repairing, painting, lining, etc. a new carriage per bill ...		608	8	0
June 4	Paid Captain Ostler for a Gold Watch. Pags. 85 ...		297	8	0
July 23	Paid J. B. Garty for Superfine Coat Cloth and a pair of Trouser per bill ...		99	12	0
Aug. 18	Paid Wilkinson for Mahogany Sopha, Table and cooly per bill		87	11	9
Oct. 25	Consignment from Baccher & Green for a dinner set ...	131 4			
	3 Wash-hand basins and Ewer ...	9 10			
	2 Soap boxes and covers	1 6			
	1 Tooth Brush Tray ...	1 6	143	10	0
Dec. 31	Paid A. Govindoo in advance for the reparation of the office per receipt. Pags. 36 ...		126	0	0
1822.					
Jan. 3	Paid Mrs. Hay for Board and Education of Miss Walker for December, per bill Pags. 5-8-0 ...		18	2	0
Jan. 17	Paid Mrs. Balfour for Board and Education of J. Pruger for December, per bill Pags. 14-25-40 ...		50	15	9
Jan. 24	To amount of three dozens of Sherry Wine @ Rs. 21 per dozen ...		63	0	0

1822.		Rs.	A.	P.
Feb. 11	To amount of a Chest containing 6 dozens French Claret sent to his Garden @ Rs. 21 per dozen ...	126	0	0
Feb. 15	Paid Captain W. Mosley for chairs, etc. per bill ...	353	14	0
Feb. 28	Paid Govindoo boat watching peon hire on a box of trees landed from the Cornwall per bill F. 17-20 ...	1	5	5
Apr. 22	Paid A. Govindoo in advance to build a new room upstairs per receipt Pags. 100 ...	350	0	0
May 8	Paid A. Govindoo in further advance for building the room per receipt ...	350	0	0
June 21	Paid A. Govindoo further advance for the new room on the office per receipt ...	175	0	0
Sep. 6	Paid J. L. Grant for three anchors and stock, etc. for the use of the Brig *Catherine* per bill ...	859	9	9
Oct. 3	For a case of Brandy Fruit ...	20	0	0
Oct. 14	Paid his order of this date to Mr. Rothmeyer for making a copy of Mr. Compton's portrait ...	350	0	0
Oct. 17	To amount credited Mr. Joseph Pugh's account this day as per your order ...	1,00,000	0	0
Oct. 25	Paid for painting windows, doors, etc. and wood oiling the roof of the new room per bill. Pags. 21-28-40 ...	73	4	8

1822.		Rs.	A.	P.
Nov. 6	Paid Rev. McRoy for Board and Education of his[1] grandson George Parry Gibson in July and August 1½ months—@ Rs. 70 per month and for Jones' book per bill ...	105	9	0
Nov. 8	Paid his order to John Law in part payment of a tomb erected in St. Mary's Burying Ground ...	350	0	0
Nov. 14	Paid I. Stephens for advertising the sale of the Pantheon per bill ...	4	3	2
Dec. 2	Paid Quit rent for 16 grounds and 2376 sq. feet situated at San Thome per bill ...	17	12	0

[1] *i.e.*, Parry's.

9

1823—1824

Parry in 1823—Another projected trip home—Parry's Will—A gold cup—The end comes, 1824—George Parry Gibson—The Cathedral Memorial—Vale.

9

1823—1824

Parry in 1823

Parry was obviously living on a fairly lavish scale at this time, and it is interesting to endeavour to conjure up a picture of him.

Fifty-five years old, and well turned out in his new "Wellington coat and waistcoat"—clearly the latest fashion—or possibly in his "superfine black coat", one may imagine him leaving his garden house for his evening drive down the Mount Road. His phaeton—recently repaired, painted and lined at a cost of Rs. 608, and drawn by a smart pair of greys, is ready for him under the porch.

After the usual gossip at Lord Cornwallis' statue on the Mount Road, where all society met in the evening, he returns to his garden house for supper.

Perhaps some "real" Holland's Gin or "Sherry Wine" before supper, and then a light meal (the heavy meal of the day was tiffin), accompanied, if it was an occasion, by "Champaigne" and, if not, perhaps by French claret or burgundy, and followed by old brandy.

After supper, a little music—for he was a Welshman. Perhaps he himself performed on his "Six Stop Barrel Organ", or possibly one of his guests at the pianoforte.

Finally a glance at his new gold watch, and one may imagine him rising from his "Mahogany Sopha", and so to bed.

Another projected trip Home

Parry, by 1823, must have been something of an institution in Madras, and his name was probably, even then, a household word in the city—if not throughout the Presidency.

At any rate a flutter was caused in local circles when, during the early months of 1823, he announced his intention of retiring to England.

He had already partially retired from business, and he was once again in such a low state of health that a trip to England became quite imperative. But

he had been so long away, and had left at such an early age, that he can have had few, if any, inducements to leave the comparative comforts of Nungambaukam, and his very wide circle of friends of all communities in Madras. By March, 1823, however, he was so ill that he realised he must at last face the necessity of making a trip home, and so the decision was made. It was, however, now too late to sail for Europe before the break of the South-West monsoon, and he accordingly booked a passage in the October fleet and, after making his Will, he settled down to get through the hot weather as best he might.

Parry's Will

Parry's Will, executed on the 4th March, 1823, is a most human document, and is here reproduced in full. There are some thirty or more beneficiaries, and everybody, down to the humblest of his personal servants, seems to have been remembered.

By its terms he made provision for a continuation, for her natural life, of the annual payment of £600 which he had been making to Mrs. Parry since 1810.

He had not seen his wife since 1807, and meantime, both their children, John and Eliza, had died; Parry therefore made his numerous nephews and nieces his residuary legatees.

It will be remembered that Parry had, in 1819, owned seven houses in Madras, one at San Thome, two in Nungambaukam and the other four in Pursawaukam; and he was at that time building another house in Nungambaukam. In his Will he only mentions three Nungambaukam houses and a house at San Thome, and he must therefore have sold his Pursawaukam properties sometime between 1820 and 1823. The San Thome house—Parry's Castle—is not mentioned as such in the Will, but there can be little doubt it is the house referred to in that document as "the house, buildings, and godowns called the Tannery", which Parry left to Joseph Pugh.

It has only been possible to identify two of his Nungambaukam houses. One is Wallace's Gardens and the other Mackay's Gardens. The latter property is marked 'Mr. T. Parry' in the map of 1822, and in that of 1837, 'Mr. J. B. Pharoah's Library'. Parry's executors no doubt sold it to Mr. Pharoah.

The Will is contained in a collection of wills received by the East India Company, London, in 1825, from the Government of Fort St. George, by the ship *Lord Hungerford,* and reads as follows:—

> "In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Parry of Madras, merchant, do make this, my last

will and testament, hereby revoking any former will or wills by me made.

I give to my wife, Mary Parry, for her own use for ever, all the furniture, plate, and other property of every description whatever, belonging to me in the house wherein she may reside in England. I also give to my wife, Mary Parry, the sum of £1,000 to be remitted to her in six months after my decease.

I direct that my executors do, immediately after my decease, remit to my wife, Mary Parry, the sum of £600 which I give and bequeath to her, in addition to the bequeaths already made in her favour.

I also direct that they remit in the like manner the sum of £150 to Mrs. Mary Anne Chinnery, to be applied by her for the use of Emma Louisa Gibson.

I give to John William Dare, David Pugh, and Joseph Pugh, in trust, the sum of one lakh and ten thousand rupees for the following purposes: that the interest arising from the said sum of one lakh and ten thousand rupees shall be remitted to my said wife, Mary Parry, during her natural life, for her sole use and benefit. I direct that the said sum of one lakh and ten thousand rupees shall be invested as soon as may be convenient to my said executors, in the public securities of the British Government in India, or in those of the

United States of America, and that until it shall be so invested, I direct that the sum of £600 per annum shall be remitted to my wife, Mary Parry, for her support. On the decease of my wife, Mary Parry, the said sum of one lakh and ten thousand rupees is to become the property of my residuary legatees.

I give in trust to the said John William Dare, David Pugh, and Joseph Pugh, my three houses and grounds at Nungambaukam, together with the buildings erected thereon, the rents of which, after paying assessments and other charges and reserving a sufficient sum for keeping the premises in repair, I direct may be divided in equal proportions between George Parry Gibson and Emma Louisa Gibson, till they shall attain the age of twenty-one years, when the said house and grounds are to be sold, and the proceeds equally divided between them; and should only one of the parties survive, then the whole is to go to that party. The share of the annual rent which may be forthcoming to George Parry Gibson I direct may be paid to his mother, Mrs. Dowden, for his education and support. The share that may be forthcoming to Emma Louisa Gibson is to be paid to her guardians, to be invested for her benefit, or applied for her use in such way as they may think fit.

I give and bequeath to the said Emma Louisa Gibson the sum of fifteen thousand rupees to be invested in the names of Mrs. Mary Anne Chinnery, John William Dare, David Pugh, and Joseph Pugh, in the public securities of the British Government in India, or in any way they may deem proper, the interest thereon to be paid to Mrs. Chinnery for the maintenance and support of the said Emma Louisa Gibson, till she become of age or be married; and to my esteemed and excellent friend, Mrs. Chinnery, I leave the entire care of this dear child.

I give to George Parry Gibson the sum of seven thousand rupees to be invested for his use in public securities, in one year after my decease, in the names of Capt. John Gibson, David Pugh, Esq., and Capt. Henry Dowden, the interest arising thereon to be applied for his use in such manner as they may think proper.

I give to Charles Henry Dowden, the son of Capt. and Mrs. Dowden, the sum of seven thousand rupees to be paid to them for his use one year after my decease.

I give to the son of the late Mr. John Wilson, seven thousand rupees, to be invested for his use one year after my decease.

I give and bequeath to John William Dare and Joseph Pugh the whole of my Indigo works in the province of Arcot and elsewhere, with all and

singular the buildings, outhouses, and articles employed in the several manufactories, together with the cattle and carts belonging thereto, to them and their heirs or assigns, for ever, on condition that they, the said John William Dare and Joseph Pugh, do pay to Mary Ann Carr, during her natural life, to and for her own proper use, the monthly sum of seventy Madras rupees, and the sum of fifty rupees for the support of any child which the said Mary Ann Carr may have within nine months from the date hereof; and in the event of the death of the said Mary Ann Carr, the whole of the said two sums, making together one hundred and twenty rupees per month, is to be continued for the use and support of the said child during its natural life.

I give to my faithful servant, Abragooloo Naick, the sum of three thousand and five hundred rupees, to be paid to him when the concerns of my estate are adjusted, and I acquit him of all claims which I have on him.

I leave the house, buildings, and godowns called the Tannery, at St. Thome, together with all the stock on hand, and everything thereunto belonging, to my nephew, Joseph Pugh, on condition that he do, during the time that he may carry on the manufacturing of leather and other articles at the said establishment, pay one-third of the pro-

ceeds arising therefrom, annually, to Mrs. Charlotte Meyers, for the use of her children by the late Peter Bower;[1] and in the event of his selling or disposing of the said premises, in that case one-third of the proceeds from the sale thereof is to be paid to the said Mrs. Charlotte Meyers, for the use of her said children by the said Peter Bower.

I acquit my friends, Mrs. Rebecca Sewell, Major Bennett, and Mr. J. L. Johnson, of all claims of every description which I have on them.

I leave to Miss Elizabeth Chinnery, Miss Mary Chinnery, and Mrs. Charles Chinnery, the sum of one thousand rupees each, to be paid to Miss Elizabeth Chinnery as required, and to the two latter on the arrival of the parties in India.

I leave to Mrs. Weehedie of Tranquebar one hundred and twenty pagodas, to be paid to her by monthly instalments, as heretofore, by Mr. Wright.[2]

I leave to Miss Bronnikam of Pondicherry one hundred and eighty pagodas, to be paid to her by monthly instalments as heretofore.

I give to the son of Babkismah Candy the sum of two thousand rupees, to be paid to him when he shall attain the age of fifteen years.

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[1] Peter Bower had been Parry's technical superintendent at the tannery.

[2] Wright was manager of one of Parry's indigo works.

I give to my butler Ramaswamy the sum of two thousand rupees.

I request that my executors will pay to the following persons, monthly, the sum set opposite to their names, during their natural lives:—Mary, a poor blind woman brought up in my house, eleven rupees; Chillie, a native woman, five rupees; Beer, a Caffre, five rupees; Mary Anne, a native woman, five rupees.

To my household servants, excepting gardeners, I direct that three months wages be paid.

The rest and residue of my property, it is my wish when realised, shall be divided as follows—one-fourth between the children of my late brother, John Parry, deceased, in equal proportions; one-fourth I leave to my sister, Jane Bryan, or her representatives; one-fourth to my sister, Anne Pugh, or her representatives; one-fourth to the children of my sister Mary Owen, deceased, in equal proportions.

And I do hereby declare my said sisters, Jane Bryan and Anne Pugh, and the children of my said brother John Parry, and the children of my sister, Mary Owen, deceased, my residuary legatees.

I leave it to my executors in India, and to Mr. David Pugh in England, to act in adjusting claims against me, and debts due to me, in such manner

as they may think best, and direct that their acts be binding on my residuary legatees.

I nominate and appoint my esteemed friend, John William Dare, Esq., of Madras; my nephew, David Pugh, late of Madras, but now of Great Britain; and my nephew, Joseph Pugh of Madras, executors of this my last will and testament.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, in Madras, this fourth day of March in the year of our Lord 1823.

T. Parry (Seal).

Signed, sealed and delivered. Published as the last will and testament of Thomas Parry, in the presence of Jno. Underwood.

J. R. Dailey."

A gold cup

Parry must have had an iron constitution for, in spite of his age, and of his 35 years residence in the tropics with no respite, his health appears to have improved as the hot weather of 1823 proceeded. When, therefore, the month of October approached, and he found his health re-established, he cancelled his passage and made up his mind to stay on in Madras.

This unexpected change of plans was the cause of some embarrassment to a certain section of the

inhabitants of Madras, who on hearing of his decision to retire, had agreed amongst themselves to present him with a gold cup, accompanied by a parting testimonial.

Long before October, 1823, the cup was ready and suitably inscribed, and "the several respectable Hindu inhabitants", who had conceived the idea, were now in a quandary.

One may imagine the discussions. Would Parry retire next year? if so, should they keep it till then?

Fortunately for Parry, and for them, they decided to make the presentation, and this was duly done on the 1st February, 1824. A few months later it would have been too late.

The cup was inscribed:—

> "From the several respectable Hindu Inhabitants of Madras to Thomas Parry, Esq., of the same place, merchant, as a mark of their great esteem and respect for the support and patronage at all times received by them during his several years residence in India, through his natural humanity and benevolence to assist as much as is in his power the poor, distressed, and helpless persons among the community."

At the presentation ceremony, the following testimonial was read:—

"To Thomas Parry, Esq.,

Dear and Honoured Sir,

During your long stay in our country, as ourselves and several other natives of the community had at all times received your patronage and support, and as we were given to understand some months ago that it was your intention to go home for the benefit of your health, we humbly thought of approaching you, on the occasion of such an intended departure, with a gold cup and an address, stating our great feelings and the high opinion we have always entertained towards you, and have prepared a cup accordingly.

We thank God, to our great happiness, that a perfect recovery of health has been bestowed on you and the intended departure has been postponed; notwithstanding, we yet feel it incumbent upon us to present to you the cup so prepared, with this our humble address.

Wishing not to lose the present opportunity, we beg to offer our warmest thanks for the esteem and regard you have always shown us all, and to the natives in general, and for your constantly allowing a great part of your valuable time in hearing, complying, and advising on the several requests of the natives of this country. The friendship and kindness which have marked your personal acts during a protracted career of thirty-six years, and the love you have cherished for us,

are entitled to our warmest gratitude and acknowledgment.

Words are really inadequate to do justice to your merits, or to enable us to convey fully the sentiments of admiration with which you have inspired us; but suffice it to say that, in your eventual absence to your native country, we shall certainly deplore the want of a beloved parent, and for these favours we shall never cease to think gratefully of you, and to pray for your health, happiness and long life.

As a small token of our attachment and respect for you, we most humbly beg your acceptance of a gold cup herewith by

Your most obedient and
humble servants,

(signed by several native inhabitants of Madras)
Madras, 1st Feb., 1824."

Parry replied in the following terms:—

"Gentlemen,

I receive this mark of your regard with the greatest satisfaction, and particularly so, as it has not been sought for, nor was it expected.

During my long residence in this place, where I have passed the greatest part of my life, I have had, in consequence of the various commercial and other transactions in which I have been engaged, a better opportunity of becoming

acquainted with the character of the native inhabitants than falls to the lot of most of my countrymen, and I can with sincerity assert that in matters of business I have found them trustworthy and correct, and in their general conduct friendly. In the management of my manufacturing establishments and money concerns in this Presidency I have generally employed native agents. In their zeal and integrity I have always placed the fullest confidence, and that confidence has never been abused.

On my arrival, it was my first wish to acquire the goodwill of my native fellow subjects, amongst whom and with whom, I may with truth say, I was to live. Since that time my best endeavours have unceasingly been directed not only to obtain, but to secure an object which I had so much at heart, and it is highly gratifying to me to find, from your kind and affectionate address which I have had the honour to receive, that my wishes have been fulfilled and my endeavours crowned with success.

If circumstances should hereafter render it necessary for me to leave India, I shall quit it with regret; however, whether it may be my fate to pass the remainder of my days amongst you or at a distance from you, I beg of you to be assured that I shall, so long as I exist, continue to

feel a lively interest in all matters connected with the welfare and happiness of the native inhabitants of this settlement.

Believe me, it was not necessary that you should have laid me under this additional obligation to keep me in remembrance of the many acts of friendship and of kindness which I have received from you. Most heartily wishing you a long continuance of health, happiness and prosperity, I have the honour to subscribe myself, gentlemen,

Your sincere friend and much
obliged servant,
THOS. PARRY."

The gold cup eventually became the property of the residuary legatees under Parry's will, and was perhaps sent to England after his death, but its present whereabouts has not been traced.

The end comes: 1824

Parry's life was not long spared after this manifestation of the esteem and respect in which he was held by an important section of the local inhabitants.

Though he had practically retired from business, he still retained his personal interest in his indigo works in South Arcot, and he left Madras early in August, 1824, on a tour of inspection of these works,

accompanied by a young relative, aged only ten, named George Parry Gibson. On the 14th August, Parry was inspecting his Porto-Novo works when he and the youth were attacked by cholera, and both died the same day.

Cholera had been known in India, certainly since the seventeenth century, but not apparently in epidemic form until, in 1817, it decimated large tracts of the Ganges delta. From there it "spread over a large part of the world"[1] and it was, perhaps, this epidemic which struck Parry's party at Cuddalore.

Parry's remains, and those of his young relative, were carried to Cuddalore, where they were buried together in the nave of the Mission Church there.

The spot is marked by a stone inscribed as follows:—

> "Underneath are deposited the remains of Thomas Parry, Esq., of Madras, who died at Porto-Novo, the 14th day of August, 1824, aged 56 years. Also those of George Parry Gibson, son of the late Major G. Gibson, who died the same day and in the same year, aged 10 years."

George Parry Gibson

The relationship of this boy to Parry is a matter of doubt, but it seems probable he was his grandson.

[1] The Oxford History of India.

The available evidence is as follows:—

1. He is referred to as Parry's grandson in the firm's 1822 ledger.

2. He was the son of a Major George Melsom Gibson who had married a Miss Eliza Harriet Wilson in St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, on the 22nd September, 1813. Parry and David Pugh both signed the register, suggesting some family connection.

3. The boy's second name being Parry also suggests some close family connection.

4. Major Gibson had subsequently died, and his wife had, prior to 1823, married a Capt. Henry Dowden.

5. Parry, in his will, referred to Mrs. Dowden as George Parry Gibson's mother.

The obvious inference is that Miss Eliza Harriet Wilson was Parry's daughter, and there is nothing inherently impossible in that. But, if it is true, it is curious he should have referred to her as "Mrs. Dowden" in his will.

However that may be, Parry was clearly much attached not only to the boy, but to the boy's younger sister, Emma Louisa Gibson, then in England. He not only made some provision for both these children in

his will, but, in that document, refers to the girl as "this dear child".

The Cathedral Memorial

St. George's Cathedral, Madras, had been built in 1816—not as a cathedral, for there was then no bishop—but as an ordinary Anglican church to provide for the needs of the European community occupying the many garden houses in its vicinity.

Accordingly when Parry's partners decided to erect a tablet to his memory it was placed in St. George's Church—the present Madras Cathedral—and not in St. Mary's Church in the Fort.

This monument is the work of the sculptor Chantry, and consists of a tablet with a finely executed figure of a Hindu sitting beside it in an attitude of grief. It bears the following extravagantly worded inscription:—

"*Nihil humani ab illo alienum.*

In memory of Thomas Parry, Esquire, who died at Porto-Novo on the 14th day of August, 1824, aged 56 years.

In him were happily blended those qualities which elevate and adorn the human character, whether in the exercise of liberal and enlightened

principles, or in the practice of the social virtues to which his urbanity and extensive attainments gave a grace and attraction beyond the ordinary reach of man.

During a residence of 37 years in Madras[1] his unblemished reputation had justly attained for him the respect, esteem and veneration of all classes of the community and alike endeared him to the native and European inhabitants.

His loss is irreparably felt and unfeignedly deplored."

Vale

And so Thomas Parry passed on—the first and the last of the Parrys to be connected with the firm.[2]

He had suffered rather more than his fair share of misfortunes, and he continued, until the last three or four years of his life, to be "tolerably well buffetted about by that jade Fortune."

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[1] This is almost certainly an error. If correct it means that Parry landed in Madras prior to August 1787. But the official records state that he landed in 1788, and, in his memorial to the Court of Directors written on the 27th February, 1809, he states that he has "upwards of twenty years been engaged", etc., which would be consistent with his landing in 1788. Furthermore, on the 20th January, 1808, he wrote "the effects of a residence of twenty years, nearly, in this climate."

[2] The Parry family connection was however continued for some years through the Pughs. William Parry Crake, a partner in 1884, was also probably a relative.

THE CATHEDRAL MEMORIAL.

Erected in St. George's Cathedral, Madras, by Thomas Parry's partners.

He had never for long been free from financial worry. Possessed of a "a snug fortune" in 1793, he had lost it a few years later; on the up grade again at the end of the century, he had his first passage of arms with Fort St. George in 1800; well off once more in 1805, he lost everything during the following years of famine and depression; up again in 1808, he crossed swords with Fort St. George for a second time in the following year.

And so it continued—a ding-dong struggle during which the climate "nearly destroyed him"—as it finally did; but, as he said, "we must all do the best we can."

Parry was never a wealthy man in the sense that the "Nabobs" of the eighteenth century were; but he had enough during his latter years to live "in a manner suitable to his wishes, which are not, nor ever were, extravagant."

He undoubtedly died a comparatively warm man, a condition he might have reached much earlier but for his charitable nature. It was said of him that "his income was considerable, but he took no care of it."

He lived a full life, though a comparatively short one, and when he finally left Madras he no doubt did "quit it with regret." But his work was accomplished;

he had placed his concerns on a permanent basis—as permanent, at any rate, as anything can be in this world of change.

Were he to return to Madras now he would see much that is new, but he would also recognise many of his old haunts.

He would find his own firm, still at Parry's Corner, but now with over 100 covenanted assistants, including many Indians, and with many thousands of souls throughout the Presidency directly dependent upon them for their daily bread.

He would find that his own policy of manufacture within the country had been continued and developed, and he would see his firm now owning or managing factories in the Presidency, and in the adjoining Indian States, making sugar, confectionery, spirits, carbonic acid gas, medical tinctures, timber, pottery, heavy chemicals, and fertilisers.

He would see branch offices, bearing his name, in practically every town, and in many of the villages in South India; and he might (who knows?) approve of the structure which has been erected by his successors on the foundations which he so well and truly laid long years ago.

It would be superfluous to attempt a summing up of Thomas Parry's character. The reader who has lasted the course so far must have formed his own mental picture of him.

Let that suffice.

But whatever form such a picture may take we surely need not quarrel with the judgment of Thomas Parry's partners when they chose for him the epitaph:—"Nihil humani ab illo alienum."

End of Part I.

PART II.

Many of Thomas Parry's letters, or extracts from his letters, have already been reproduced in Part I. The following are additional to these, and are thought to be of sufficient interest for inclusion separately. They were all written in Madras.

They are taken from his outward letter book for the years 1806 to 1809 inclusive, and have, for convenience' sake, been divided into the following sections:—

1. Local Affairs.
2. World Events.
3. Exchange and Finance.
4. Business.
5. The Tannery.
6. Memorial to London.

1.

LOCAL AFFAIRS.

To John Neill, Esq., Trincomalee. *29th June, 1806.*

It is not yet determined about sending another King's Regiment to Ceylon, a reference has been made to General Maitland on the subject and they wait his answer. I am rather inclined to think that the 69th Regiment[1] will be ordered to Trincomalee. The moment I can get any certain information on this point you shall hear from me.

You will have heard from Point de Galle of the arrival of the March Fleet from England. They have had an astonishing passage. The changes in the Administration, of which you will see a particular account in the extra paper yesterday, are great and such as will, if possible, save our country from the deplorable situation to which it was reduced by the heaven born minister[2] and his friends.

To Henry Brown, Esq., Ramnad. *25th July, 1806.*

The accounts over land are very interesting. Lord

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[1] 2nd Batt. The Welsh Regiment.

[2] William Pitt.

Lauderdale[1] is appointed Governor-General, Lord St. John Governor of Madras, and Lord S. Gower Governor of Bombay. Mr. John Sulivan is Council in the room of Mr. Petrie, Sir Edward Pellew Commander in Chief in the Indian Seas. The latter is a fortunate circumstance for Chinnery who is again appointed Naval Officer, and Sir E. P. is, I believe, disposed to be of service to him.

The new Governors are expected out soon.

To Edward Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram. 24th July, 1806.

There is some report of a Packet over land in circulation but I cannot trace it to any certain source. It is, however said that Lord Minto is appointed Governor-General and Lord Tounsend[2] Governor of Madras.

To Lt.-Col. Bannerman, London. 23rd July, 1807.

The *Indus* is to be despatched, and I have only time to write a few lines to you. Everything is quiet in this part of the world, and likely to remain so. Our new Governor-General[3] sailed for Calcutta on the 20th inst., he was here some time but he did not open his commission. They talk of great changes in this Government, but what they are nobody seems to know. The next despatch from England will no doubt bring the final orders on the subject.

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[1] There was substance in this rumour as Lord Lauderdale's name was put forward for the office of Governor-General, but Lord Minto was finally appointed. Parry's information in regard to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay was incorrect.

[2] Parry was wrong again. Sir George Barlow was appointed.

[3] Lord Minto.

To Major Beaver, Colombo. *18th August, 1807.*

We are in hourly expectation of the arrival of the Indiamen from England and by them we may expect intelligence extremely interesting both foreign and domestic.

I had a letter on Saturday mentioning the arrival of Lord Minto in the River,[1] but we have yet no accounts of his reaching Calcutta.

We certainly are to have great changes here. It is said that Sir G. Barlow is to be our Governor, that he is to have £30,000 and a pension of £2,000 per annum and be created a Peer.[2]

To Edward Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram.

15th September, 1807.

The *Pitt* Frigate will sail for England about the 27th with Lord Bentinck and family. What do you think of the late changes? They were not expected by the ex-party.

To John DePonthieu, Esq., London. *25th September, 1807.*

The changes which have taken place in our Government in consequence of this arrival were quite unexpected by the parties removed.[3] We had received only a short time before, by an American, accounts of the Duke of Portland being at the head of the new administration and it was almost looked

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[1] The Hoogly.

[2] He was not.

[3] Lord William Bentinck and General Craddock, removed as the result of the Vellore mutiny.

upon as a certainty that Lord Bentinck would be continued in the Government of Madras.

To John Neill, Esq., London. *27th September, 1807.*

The Fleet which lately arrived brought orders for the removal of Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Craddock. The former with his lady is a passenger on the vessel by which this letter goes, the *Pitt* Frigate. The change which has taken place has given satisfaction to all. Mr. Petrie is Governor and General Macdougall Commander in Chief. Everything quiet and peaceable and will remain so if no alteration takes place in the Government. They have sent out, we are told, 5,000 men. We shall not now have occasion for them and I wish they had been sent to South America where they would have been of essential service. I believe you know that Mr. Petrie[1] is my particular friend—it is not amiss to have a person well disposed towards one in such a high situation, although I have nothing to ask from him that I know of at present.

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *5th October, 1807.*

The *Psyche* arrived yesterday with her prize, a Dutch 20 gun sloop—she has taken two more, a Corvett of 12 guns and a Merchant ship of 650 tons; the latter is said to be valuable. They are soon expected to arrive here.

To George Seton, Esq., Penang. *15th October, 1807.*

Our new Governor[2] is much liked—we all get on as

[1] Mr. Petrie, the senior Member of Council, was Acting Governor of Madras pending the appointment of Sir George Barlow.

[2] Still Mr. Petrie.

quietly as possible—no more saving[1]—and of course apprehension of any more Vellore affairs.

To A. T. Gibbons, Esq., Trincomalee. *16th October, 1807.*

A dreadful gale of wind has been experienced in the mouth of the Bay—nine ships lost and many others much damaged. I have not yet seen the particular account of it. Surcouf[2] has also been doing much mischief.

To John Neill, Esq., c/o Dover Castle to U. K.

22nd October, 1807.

Enclosed is the Government Gazette of this day—by it you will observe the dreadful losses which have happened at the head of the Bay from bad weather and the enemy.

To Francis Schuler, Esq., Cochin. *10th November, 1807.*

The *Charger Gun* Brig has on board a new Commission of Government for Madras, in which Sir G. Barlow is appointed Governor and Mr. Petrie Member of Council—no other person mentioned. Some people are of opinion that Sir George will not come here, others again say that the Court of Directors have requested it in so strong a manner that he cannot refuse.[3]

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[1] A reference to Lord William Bentinck's economies, of which Parry did not approve.

[2] A Captain Nicholas Surcouff, commanding the French privateer *L'Adele,* had been captured south of the Sand Heads in the Bay of Bengal by H.M.S. *Albatross* in 1800. This was probably the same man.

[3] Sir George Barlow had been Acting Governor-General.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta. *19th November, 1807.*

The idea of Sir G. B.'s coming here does not seem to be relished by the civilians, or indeed by any people in office. They suppose he will strike off some of their emoluments. I do not think he will be much pleased with the situation. We have a report here that Lord Minto is removed—in that case it is probable Sir G. B. will remain at Calcutta—The report is from T. W. Fairlie.[1]

To Col. Brunton, London. *22nd November, 1807.*

By the *Royal George*, which ship arrived on the 2nd instant, I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 15th May, the contents of which have given great satisfaction to all your friends here and to none, believe me, more than to myself. We shall rejoice to see you back again provided it be from choice and not necessity that you return. I was convinced that the good sense of the Directors would lead them immediately on your arrival to seek from you that information regarding the real state of their affairs which you are so capable of giving them. They appear to have acted upon it—the orders for the removal of the persons you mention, and others are arrived.

The competitors for the offices of Adjutant General and Deputy are many—it is not yet known generally by whom they are to be filled. Your friend, the General, who is unreservedly liked, does not make any promises. I am glad to see that our friend Samuel takes up his cause so warmly

[1] This report was without foundation.

—he cannot say too much in his praise. The *Pilot* will prove a most valuable paper. Indian matters have hitherto been too much neglected. Samuel will tell you some strange stories about our late ill advised young Governor[1]. You may, if you have an opportunity, assure the Directors that they have not a more zealous friend in India than Sir H. G.,[2] but the truth will not do here—and he will speak the truth be the consequence what it may—a better man does not exist.

Sir G. Barlow is expected here next month. There is, however, a report that Lord Minto is removed, in that case it is probable Sir George may remain in Calcutta. If the Melville Party continue in, Lord Minto I daresay will be removed, but that is not likely, although their partisans here seem to consider it as certain.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta. 6th January, 1808.

Our new Governor seems to move with much caution—the only appointment he has as yet made is that of Major Barclay for his Military Secretary. This looks well.[3]

To J. DePonthieu, Esq., London. 25th October, 1808.

Our latest accounts from England are to the 6th or 8th June by the *Chiffone*, which vessel is arrived at Calcutta.

The *Modeste* frigate has lately captured a French Privateer, called the *Ravenant*, in the Bay. We have not yet had any particulars of it.

The fleet consisting of the *Phoenix, Lord Nelson, Tiger,*

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1 Lord William Bentinck.

2 Sir Henry Gwellin, a High Court Judge.

3 Parry's first impression of Sir George Barlow.

Glory, *Diana*, *Ann*, *Ceylon* and *Preston* are to sail to-day under convoy of the *Albion*.

Admiral Pellew[1] sailed yesterday in the *Culloden* to the Eastward. He is to wait there for the China fleet, and goes home in January. So we shall see no more of His Excellency. He has made a large fortune. His eldest son was married a short time ago to the eldest daughter of Sir G. Barlow.

Sir Henry Gwellin is a passenger on the *Phoenix*. It is the general wish of all descriptions of people here that he may return as Chief Justice. The natives actually adore him.

[1] Naval Commander-in-Chief at Madras.

2.

WORLD EVENTS

To Major Walker, Mangalore. *21st February, 1806.*

We are in daily expectation of hearing of the fall of the Cape[1] and of very interesting accounts from Europe. Bonaparte seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Ulm when the action took place on the 13th October. If they can drive him across the Rhine, we may hope for a favourable peace.

To John Grant, Esq., Calcutta. *24th February, 1806.*

You will I daresay hear of the Cape and perhaps the Mauritius[2] being in our possession. These changes must open new sources of trade and afford employment for Indian shipping.

To V. Corbett, Esq. *26th February, 1806.*

The news from the Continent is dreadful and I am fearful that we shall soon hear of the Arch Duke Charles'

[1] The Cape of Good Hope was not finally recognised as a British Colony until 1814.

[2] Mauritius was captured in 1810.

defeat also. This, however, is in some measure balanced by the glorious victory over the combined fleet by the immortal Nelson.[1]

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *2nd March, 1806.*

The last news from the Continent is very alarming and unless the King of Prussia joins the Allies I fear the Emperor of Germany will be under the necessity of submitting to any terms that Bonaparte may think proper to dictate to him.

The glorious victory however, obtained by the immortal Nelson over the combined fleets, puts it completely out of the power of the Enemy to annoy us at Sea during the present contest, and leaves us at liberty to direct our whole force towards the assistance of our Allies; and should the Emperor of Germany either by the assistance of Prussia or otherwise, be able to stand his ground a few months longer I think we may yet hope for a favourable termination to the contest, particularly if Prussia should make a dash at Holland, which I consider an event extremely likely to take place, if that power come forward at all.

Accounts from the Cape may be soon expected and I trust that ere long the Enemy will be driven entirely out of this part of the World.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta, *27th March, 1806.*

We look out with much anxiety for news from the Cape; it is certainly time that we should hear of its being in our hands.

[1] The reference is, of course, to the Battle of Trafalgar, which was fought on the 21st October, 1805.

To John Grant, Esq., Calcutta. *22nd April, 1806.*

The fleet from the Cape arrived this morning. The Colony was in great distress for provisions and three of the transports are come on for the purpose of loading with Grain and to return immediately.

To Col. Chalmers. *23rd April, 1806.*

Not a word of news. We are anxious for another overland despatch. If the King of Prussia would come forward Boney might yet be driven within bounds.[1] Nelson and Sir R. Strachan have taken proper care of his ships.

To R. Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. *7th October, 1806.*

An overland packet with intelligence from England to the 21st April is arrived. I have not heard that there is any news of importance by it, excepting some report of a general peace. This indeed is of the greatest importance if it can be relied on.[2]

To J. DePonthieu, Esq., London. *21st October, 1806.*

By the *Experiment* we have also intelligence of Sir H. Popham's[3] success against Buenos Ayres.

To Gilbert Ross, Esq., London. *22nd October, 1806.*

We have heard of Sir H. Popham's great success against the Spanish Settlement of Buenos Ayres.[4]

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[1] The King of Prussia did come forward and was completely defeated at Jena by Napoleon.

[2] It could not.

[3] Admiral Sir Home Popham was court-martialled for this unofficial attack on the Spaniards, with whom England was at peace.

[4] At the time of his court-martial, the City of London presented Sir H. Popham with a sword, for "trying to open up new markets."

To Col. Cullen, South Arcot. *13th February, 1807.*

I look forward with much anxiety for accounts from the Continent to the end of November; about that time the fate of Europe in all probability will be determined. I am not altogether without hopes that an end has been put to Bonaparte's career long ere this.

To John Neill, Esq., London. *10th March, 1807.*

Our last overland despatches are to the 23rd of November from the Continent; some report of troubles in France, God send it may prove true, and that Bonaparte's career has been put a stop to.

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *7th April, 1807.*

The accounts of the recapture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, is confirmed. It is likely that another attack will be made upon it by Admiral Sterling.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta. *29th May, 1807.*

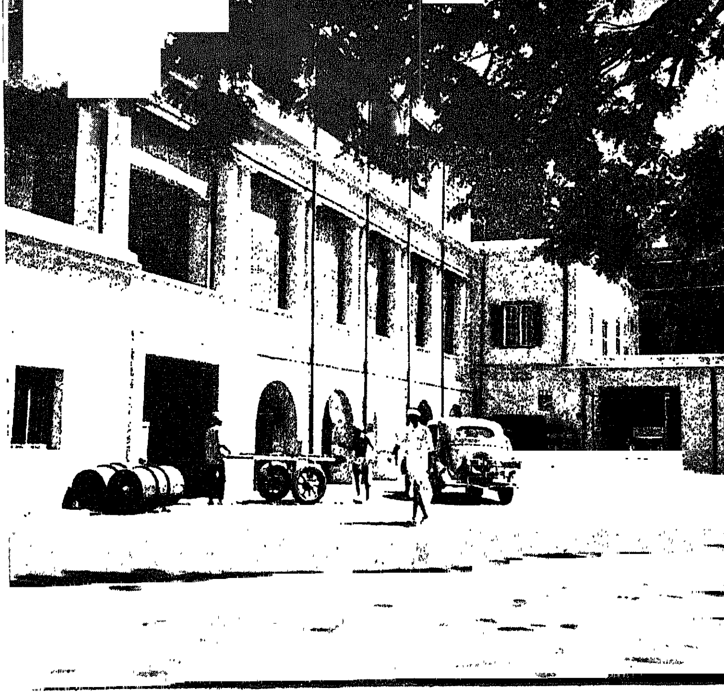
The account of the recapture of Buenos Ayres is very satisfactory. In a day or two we may expect the particulars from Tranquebar. We hope also to receive a confirmation of the defeat of Bonaparte by the Russians.[1]

To C. W. Younge, Esq., Palamcottah. *2nd June, 1807.*

It does not appear that Buenos Ayres was taken when the Dane left South America. Monte Video was taken by

[1] Napoleon had been roughly handled by the Russians in Poland, but not defeated. He made a separate alliance with Russia this year.

(a)
The Old Block.



PARRY'S BUILDINGS, 1938.

(b)
The verandah on the top floor showing the old telescope and stand.

storm, with a heavy loss on our side, 800 men, and on that of the Spaniards upwards of 2,000. The expedition had proceeded against Buenos Ayres, which it was supposed would surrender immediately.

To Mr. Breithaupt, Cuddalore. *13th August, 1807.*

Accounts have been received at Bombay through Asiatic Turkey which confirm the intelligence respecting the defeat of the French in Poland. It is said that Alexandria has been taken by Admiral Duckworth.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta. *22nd August, 1807.*

Accounts have been received in Bombay of the defeat of Bonaparte by the Russians. It is said that he was missing.[1] An American paper by the last ship from Philadelphia mentions that he was at Paris.

To David Pugh, Esq., Penang. *3rd September, 1807.*

An American vessel arrived yesterday gives some account of having spoken another American from Amsterdam on the 25th May when it is reported that Bonaparte was in possession of Memul, and that the Russian and French Armies were so near to each other that a general action was immediately expected to take place.

To Robert Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. *7th September, 1807.*

The Captain of an American which arrived on Friday brings a confused account of Bonaparte having taken Memul. He says he had it from another American which he fell in with in Lat. 25 South from Amsterdam on the 15th of May.

[1] The usual war rumours.

To John DePonthieu, Esq., London. *25th September, 1807.*

Our latest accounts from the theatre of war are to the end of May, and mention the fall of Dantzig, that an armistice between France and Sweden had taken place, and that notwithstanding the mediation of Austria had been accepted by France and her allies, a general action was hourly expected.

To Lieut.-Col. Bannerman, London. *29th September, 1807.*

The latest accounts from England are to the end of April by an overland Packet received here on the 23rd instant. We have also by way of Constantinople advices of the fall of Dantzig which is bad; however, I still hope that old Benington has, ere this, obliged Bonaparte to retrace his steps to France.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta. *9th October, 1807.*

An expedition from some place to the Eastward is now on foot—the Admiral embarks on the 12th. The ships are to proceed to Penang to take on the troops lately arrived there from England. There is some rumour of a dispute betwixt the French and Dutch Parties at Batavia, and of a very serious contest between the Chinese and the Malayas, the expedition may perhaps be destined for that part of the world.

To Francis Schuler, Esq., Cochin. *10th November, 1807.*

We wait with much anxiety for another overland despatch. I do not think that Russia can have entered into a separate Treaty with France.[1] If therefore a peace has taken place, it is to be hoped it is a general one.

[1] She had; and so had Prussia.

To Col. Brunton, London. *22nd November, 1807.*

We have an account of the termination of hostilities between Russia and France and between the former power and the Porte which is said to have been the consequence of three successive victories obtained by the Russians over Bonaparte. We wait with much anxiety for a confirmation of this account in which I do not place much confidence.[1]

To G. Seton, Esq., Penang. *13th May, 1808.*

The Prince Regent of Portugal has given Bonaparte the slip and has carried with him his nephew, the grandson of the King of Spain; and I should not wonder if we hear very soon that this said grandson is proclaimed King of all Spanish America. This would annoy the French Emperor not a little. No more dollars for him. This circumstance, and the system of general blockade, will put us in complete possession of all the trade of both Americas and the West Indies; and I think the people on the Continent will cry out soon for the good things of which they will now be completely deprived.

To Edward Coles, Esq., Bencoolin. *12th September, 1809.*

The *Demand* of 50 Guns came in on Saturday from England the 24th April and St. Helena 9th July. She brings accounts of the destruction of the French Fleet (12 sail of the line and several frigates) in Basque Roads. This is a death blow to Bonaparte's naval forces.

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[1] It was substantially correct.

To Col. Bannerman, London. *17th October, 1809.*

Should the news we have received of the defeat of Bonaparte by the Arch Duke Charles, and of the French Armies in Portugal and Spain, by Sir A. Wellesley and the Spaniards, prove true, our Indigo speculations ought to turn out a very profitable concern.[1]

To Col. Bannerman, London. *20th October, 1809.*

Why do you not order your Government to take Java? Gen. (illegible) is strengthening himself there. He has deposed the King of (illegible), and is taking steps to make himself master of the whole Island. It is said that he means to remove the seat of Government from Batavia to (illegible). You ought not to let the French or their allies have a foot of ground on this side of the Cape of Good Hope. The resources of Java are immense, and be assured the French will have them to account if the Arch Duke has not completely upset Bonaparte.

[1] Wellington had started his run of successes in Spain and Portugal, and had won the Battle of Talavera in July.

[2] Java was not taken until 1811.

3.

EXCHANGE AND FINANCE.

To Major Walker, Mangalore. *21st February, 1806.*

When you are about to make remittances to Europe let me know, and you may be assured of my putting you in the way of effecting them to the best advantage. The Exchange at which Navy bills have been of late negotiated is 8s. 10d. the Pagoda.[1] You will also do well to mention when you have money at Bombay, as I may fall upon means of getting it away sometimes in a favourable manner.

To Lieut.-Col. Marriott, Mangalore. *6th March, 1806.*

I understand it is likely that Bank Notes will soon be circulated among the different collectors; however, should they not you had better send down Walker's money in pagodas.

To R. Campbell, Esq., Vizianagram. *13th May, 1806.*

I have not had an opportunity of ascertaining the price of *swedish transfer* at China last year, and without it I cannot give you the calculation I promised.[2]

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[1] The equivalent of 2s. 6d. per rupee.

[2] This calculation might have been interesting.

To Robert Campbell, Esq., Vizianagram. *24th June, 1806.*

The exchange at which the Supra cargos passed their bills last year was 5s. 6d. for the Dollar.[1]

To R. Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. *25th June, 1806.*

I can procure bills on England for the sum you mention at 8s. 9d. payable at ninety days sight, provided you signify your assent to this offer without loss of time. Government, I understand from good authority, are about to reduce the exchange at which they pass their bills. That of other bills will fall in consequence and I do not see a prospect of your getting any at so short a sight at a more favourable exchange than that above mentioned. The commission for procuring remittances is 1%, exclusive of Agency on the receipt money. I shall get bills for you and we can manage about the payment for them somehow or other.

The exchange on Bombay is from 355 to 360 Bombay rupees for 100 Pags. and on Bengal at 360 rupees per 100 Pags. But bills on the latter place are not at present to be had.

To R. Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. *27th June, 1806.*

If you cannot procure bills for the money you have received from Nanamuntarow be good enough to remit it in bank notes, which I believe you can get from the Collectors. I beg your attention to this, as we shall be in the course of the next month in great want of cash.

[1] Probably the American dollar.

To Robert Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. 18th July, 1806.

We forwarded to you by yesterday's tappal a sett of bills on the Commissioners of the Victualling Office for £3,500. I could not get a higher exchange, Navy bills are always drawn at 90 d/s and if in our letter of the 15th June we stated them at 30 d/s it was a mistake.

To R. Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. 25th July, 1806.

We wrote to you a few days ago on the subject of Bengal bills, the Company have since advertised the sale of some to the extent of a Lac of Pagodas; this may probably raise the exchange, but I think not materially, and I would recommend your sending any you have without loss of time and you may depend on our doing the best we can with them, but we cannot stipulate to take them at any particular exchange, as we may subject you, or ourselves, to a loss which ought not to be incurred in a transaction of this description.

To P. Walker, Esq., Mangalore. 12th August, 1806.

I have received your letter of the 8th with the bills on Bombay for 40,000 rupees with which I have done the needful. You shall have, in time to send by the next overland despatch, a bill on England for the amount, and the further sum of £2,000 which you desired us to get for you.

To Robert Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. 13th January, 1807.

The prices of Company's paper are nearly the same as when we wrote to you on the 8th instant. The fall in its value has been occasioned by the issuing of Treasury Bills.

We are on the point of starvation. If our supplies from Bengal be not immense we cannot escape a famine. I think you ought to secure the Rice which you mentioned in one of your former letters.

To R. Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. *19th January, 1807.*

As the remittances which you have now made to us will not become due till the 16th and 19th of next month, if I were to grant a Bond on the terms you have required we should be paying you interest for *ninety* days when in fact we should have the use of your money only fifty days. This, I am persuaded, you will not, on a reconsideration of the matter, think reasonable, especially, as I presume you will not, when you may have occasion for your money, experience any difficulty in passing your bills on us at 30 d/s. In that case you will not be at any loss by the transaction.

I expect that we shall have to make very considerable shipments of Indigo by the October fleet from your brother and Col. Cullen, against which we shall have to draw on Messrs. Bruce & Co., and I do not suppose that we shall have the means of negotiating our bills at a lower exchange than 9/- @ 60 d/s.[1] Will not this be a good remittance for you?

To James Wilson, Esq., Calicut. *18th April, 1807.*

I think it likely that bills may be procured when the *Admiral* arrives here, on the Commissioners of the Navy at

[1] The equivalent of 2s. 7d. per rupee, which certainly sounds a "good remittance".

90 d/s at the exchange of £0-8-9 per Pagoda, in the months of June or July. I may perhaps obtain for you a more favourable remittance through another channel.

To Messrs. Alexander & Co., Calcutta. 16th September, 1807.

His Majesty having approved of Capt. Young's purchase of the late Captain Ball's Company in the 34th Regiment,[1] I have to request you will give me credit for the enclosed bill, accepted by you, with the interest, from the 14th October, 1805, informing me the amount in Sicca Paper.

As this sum may remain some time in your hands I request to know what interest you will allow for it, on condition that I give you three months' notice before it be taken out. It is, however, possible that I may have occasion to remit it in January—in that case, at what exchange can you give me bills on England?

To Messrs. Reynolds Elmore & Co., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope. 16th October, 1807.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mrs. Parry who proceeds to England on the *Dover Castle,* as she will have occasion for some money to defray her expenses at the Cape. I have to request you will make her an advance of what she may require, debiting me for it, and should it exceed any balance you may have in your hands, your draft on me for the difference shall be duly honoured.

Any attention you may show to Mrs. Parry and my

[1] 1st Batt. The Border Regiment.

daughter, during their stay at the Cape, will be most thankfully acknowledged.

To Gilbert Ross, Esq., London. *22nd November, 1807.*

I am glad to observe it was your intention to sell a part of my stock to pay the bill passed against the camphor, as it never was my wish that you should be subjected to the inconvenience of an advance on my account.

To Edward Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram.

7th December, 1807.

I have been favoured with your letters of the 14th ult. and 2nd inst. When the former came to hand I was exceedingly unwell, and altogether incapable of attending to any business, and it was not until Friday last that I was able to come to the office, when I gave instructions for discontinuing your bills and forwarding the amount to Lieut. Stewart; but owing to some difficulty in getting rupees at the Bank the money was not despatched, as I expected it would have been, on Saturday.

As the Bond which you granted some time ago is only for covering any balance that may be eventually due to the House, it may as well remain with us so long as any balance is due.

To Col. Bannerman, London. *24th October, 1808.*

Everything in this country is as quiet as possible. I think in another year we shall have the interest of money as low as six per cent. Company's 8 per cent. paper is at

present at a discount of 1½ to 2 per cent. owing to the many remittances made to England by this fleet. The exchange for bills on England is at 8/3 at 90 d/s and might as well be at 8/-[1] for as there are no bills in the market but those of the Company and the Navy Contractors, they might fix their own rate of exchange.

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[1] The equivalent of 2s. 3½d. per rupee.

4.

BUSINESS.

To George Keppen, Esq., Nellore. *29th April, 1806.*

I wish you would let us have the tobacco accounts that we may settle that concern. It is very unpleasant to have these matters so long unadjusted.

To R. Campbell, Esq., Vizagapatam. *13th May, 1806.*

If the cotton you mention be of a good quality and you could land it here at about twenty-five Pags. per candy it certainly will answer for the China Market.

To Mick & Folliott. *21st June, 1806.*

As you have not returned the two strings of Pearls which you received from Messrs. Parry and Lane a long time ago I must request you will pay me for them.

To Robert Campbell, Esq., Vizagapatam. *24th June, 1806.*

The Emperor of China has issued an order prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver. This will, if persevered in, increase the value of silks and render remittances by way of China less advantageous than heretofore.

To John Neill, Esq., Trincomalee. *29th June, 1806.*

I am glad to hear that you are at last safe arrived at Trincomalee. We began to be apprehensive that you had fallen into the hands of the *Bellona.* I shall speak to Locker or Capt. Cole about appointing you Prize Agents for the *Powerful.* It is very hard upon you to be obliged to supply the Frenchmen with provisions, however, we must submit to these things.

There is an American now here who has a quantity of arrack at Tranquebar, 200 Leagers. I am endeavouring to do something with him, but there are so many sharks at Madras on the look out for these things that it is difficult to make a safe bargain.

The Tannery gets on well and I expect to get the contract which you see advertised in the papers.

To I. B. Travers, Esq., Nellore. *1st July, 1806.*

I beg as a particular favour that you will let the bearer have one thousand Madras Pagodas, or Rupees to that extent, and I will send you the amount early in next month or you may draw upon me or the House for it at thirty days sight. Excuse the liberty I take in making this request, the money will be wanted to assist in expediting the shipment of some Salt Petre for which Stewarts man has contracted and which I want here without delay.

To H. Brown, Esq., Ramnad. *4th July, 1806.*

I believe I shall get 34 Pags. per candy for your cotton and the Purchaser to pay the packing charges—this I think

must be a very profitable sale for you and you will of course send all that you can. Provided it be here in a month it will do.

There is now for sale here an Iron Cotton Screw. If you are of opinion that you can carry on the cotton trade next year to any considerable extent, it may be advisable to make a purchase of it on our joint account. It makes a difference in the size of the bales when they are screwed with the Iron Machine in place of the Wooden one of 80 per cent.[1]

Let me know to what extent purchases of cotton can be made by you and if you think it too heavy an undertaking we shall be glad to join you in the speculation.

To Arch. Simpson, Esq., Bengal. *8th July, 1806.*

We have by us for sale about twenty Pipes of remarkably fine London Market Madeira; it has been here upwards of twelve months and has had the benefit of two land wind seasons—do you think it would sell in Calcutta? and if so at what price?

To Henry Brown, Esq., Ramnad. *21st July, 1806.*

The price of the Cotton Screw will be about 3,000 Pagodas and the dimensions of a bale screwed by it, as follows:—

3 ft. 9 ins. long.
1 ft. 7 ins. high.
1 ft. 4 ins. broad.

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[1] And therefore an equivalent reduction in freight.

The bale contains about 300 lbs. nett weight of cotton. It never will answer to send cotton screwed on the Wooden Screw to England. The difference of freight in favour of the Iron Screw is about 80 per cent. Although it may not be advisable to send the iron screw to Ramnad, owing to the quantity of cotton to be procured there not being sufficient to keep it constantly employed, it may answer here, provided you intend to continue your cotton speculations, and I shall be obliged by the information you promise me in regard to the probable extent of your next years operations. I can pick up a good deal of cotton here, and if I saw a certainty of using the screw so as to pay the expense of it I would make a purchase.

To Edward Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram. 6th August, 1806.

I am concerned to hear wandation[1] of the Coleroon has caused such dreadful havoc in your cane plantations. Let us hope that you will be indemnified by your Indigo speculation.

By the enclosed letter from Mr. Wayle you will observe that your application to the Board of Revenue is under reference to Government and it is his opinion that no refund for duties actually paid will be made. We shall leave your indigo, lately arrived, at the Customs House till the decision of Government shall have been communicated to the Collector of Customs.

It is my intention to proceed to Trincomalee by sea in the course of a few days, I shall not have time to make any

[1] A good word, not found in the dictionary.

enquiry in regard to a head servant for you. On my return, should you require one, I shall use my best endeavours to assist you.

To Henry Brown, Esq., Ramnad. 13th August, 1806.

We shall be happy to assist you with advances for the purchase of Cotton, or to take a joint concern with you in it, whichever you please, but as you will have all the trouble of making the purchases etc. it appears but fair that you should have the advantage. We shall be satisfied with the usual commission. In regard to the screw we can settle hereafter.

To E. Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram. 30th September, 1806.

There is not at present a chance of selling your Cambays and Handkerchiefs here, I therefore cannot advise you to send them.

To Gilbert Ross & Andrew Burgie, Esq., London.

1st October, 1806.

By some of the ships expected to sail from hence in the course of this month, it is my intention to consign to you, provided I can procure freight, a quantity of Camphor, and I have to request you will effect insurance on my account against all risks for £2,400—Sterling—on ship or ships, regular Indiamen or extra ships, at and from Madras to London, on Camphor, valued at Sixteen pounds sterling per chest.

To Messrs. Waile & Pierce, Merchants, Salem,
nr. Massachusetts. *6th October, 1806.*

I now take the liberty of troubling you with a Respondentia Bond on the ship *Laurel,* Captain Ward Blacker, for S. Drs. 2,898 payable four months after arrival, the amount of which, when received, I beg you will invest in the Public funds of the United States in the same manner as directed in my letter of the 28th July, regarding the Bond for S. Drs. 4,811.

To H. Compton, Esq., London. *20th October, 1806.*

Mr. Light has not yet paid a fanam on account of rent, and the house at Vepery notwithstanding all our endeavours to get it rented continues still unoccupied. These circumstances annoy me exceedingly as I am aware that you calculated on all your houses being not only tenanted but paid for when you left Madras.

To E. Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram. *15th January, 1807.*

The timber which I ordered some time since from Trincomalee has unfortunately been disposed of at the Tannery. When our Cutter comes this way in March I shall desire Mr. Gibbons to send you a dozen logs. The cost is not much and you will then see whether it will answer.

In regard to the Sugar Mills I do not find that anything can be done. It is not, however, owing to Mr. Fortin, who is anxious to have them, but the other Gentlemen wish to confine the expenditure on their new concern to as small a compass as possible.

Government at present do not allow any copper to be issued from their stores in consequence of some demand for a supply from the Rajah of Mysore. The matter has been referred to the Board of Trade. When it is decided upon Mr. Taylor says he thinks he can let me have the quantity you require.

It will not be possible to make any arrangement for shipping your Indigo till the Indiamen arrive here. Colvins have not done anything, but I have some expectation of settling with Captain Wardlow of the *Asia,* his cousin, Mr. Balfour, having informed me that he has spare tonnage and money to remit.

The Board of Trade has recommended to Government to detain all the homeward bound ships and to employ them in bringing rice till September next. I do not think it at all probable that this recommendation will be attended to. If it should your Indigo must remain here till October.

To E. Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram. 19th January, 1807.

I do not at present see any prospect of making an advantageous remittance by way of China in the course of the present season. Cotton is very high there but the exportation from the coast will not be to any extent owing to the failure of rain.

To Henry Brown, Esq., Ramnad. 27th January, 1807.

It will depend in a great degree on the price we can obtain for your cotton here when the Indiamen shall be about to depart for China, whether it will be most advisable to sell

it or consign it to China on your account. I shall then send you a statement of what may be the probable result of a consignment to Canton and the returns which may be expected.

We made a remittance to your brother of £500 by the October ships.

It will not answer to send the cotton we have now on hand belonging to you to England, as the bales are not sufficiently compressed. Senganah is about to erect an Iron screw and by the October ship it may be advisable to send fifty or a hundred bales by way of trial.

To Henry E. Powney, Esq., Colombo. *7th February, 1807.*

Our friend, Mr. Flower, informs me that you have a quantity of coffee and pepper for sale, which you might be inclined to dispose of in barter for Madeira Wine; I will thank you to mention the price at which you could engage to deliver the Pepper and Coffee here, and at what rate you could receive the wine. Our Cutter, the *Eliza,* will be at Colombo in a short time, and if you have anything to ship for this place an opportunity will offer of sending it by her.

To Captain George Seton, Penang. *24th February, 1807.*

I beg you will ship by the first opportunity for Canton 200 Piculs of the Mother of Pearl shells most fit for the China Market, consigned to Messrs. Beal Magnise & Co. on our account, with directions to remit the proceeds to Messrs. Bruce Bazell & Co., London, in Bills on the Court of

Directors, the remainder you will consign to us by the first good vessel bound for this Port.

To Captain Hippen, Nellore. *24th March, 1807.*

As you appear determined not to answer any letters from the house on the subject of their joint transactions with you and Stewart, I am under the necessity of writing to you myself to request that you will at any rate say something in reply to their letter enclosing your account current. I am exceedingly desirous of bringing this long standing account to an adjustment some way or other.

I am already a considerable sufferer by you from the Seringapatam business, not a cash of which I have yet received, nor can I say when any thing will be forthcoming. In conscience, and in honour, I really think you are bound to indemnify me from loss on this transaction.

I shall be obliged by your sending me ten pieces of fine Nellore cloth of the value of about five Pagodas.

To A. Woodcock, Esq., Coringa. *25th March, 1807.*

You will oblige me by saying whether crooked Timbers and of what particular dimensions can be disposed of at Coringa.

Robert Campbell, Esq., Bimlipatam. *28th March, 1807.*

It is a matter of much regret to me to observe that the sales of your Gentoo cloths have not answered your expectations. We certainly did the best we could with them according to our opinion, for your interest. The bills for

the duty on the first five bales of Gentoo cloths, and on the Oil seeds, are sent herewith, and for the measuring duty, no bills are granted for measuring fees. You will find that the duty paid by us at the Custom House, on the five bales of Gentoo cloth, is more than the sum charged in the Account Sales, this loss having been occasioned by the neglect of your servants, we have taken upon ourselves.

When the Bales were passed at the Custom House, your invoice had not come to hand, and we were obliged to submit to the valuation of the Custom House people; this might afterwards have been rectified, had due attention been paid to it, but it was not until the Account Sales were made out that I discovered the mistake, and on an application then made at the Custom House for a return of the difference of duty on the sum at which the deeds had been extracted, and that at which they were sold, I was told it was too late, as the accounts were closed. I was therefore obliged to put up with the loss.

I certainly will not recommend to you to trouble yourself in making up Cloths of this description again, unless you can dispose of them on the spot, the people who purchase here are the most troublesome to deal with, and we have had more plague with them than you can imagine.

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *7th April, 1807.*

When your Doneys arrive, we shall tender your Rice to Government, as it does not appear likely that we shall be able to obtain for it, a higher price than is offered by them.

On the subject of insurance we have already written to you. It is impossible to effect it here.

Believe me, my dear sir, I have not been unmindful of your good offices with your friends at Calcutta, to promote the interest of our establishment, my silence on the subject has proceeded from notions of delicacy entirely, and I am persuaded you will believe me when I say so. Your said friends have, for a length of time, been connected with a house of agency at this place, and I do not think it fair to use any means to obtain that business which has been so long confided to others. Should your friends be dissatisfied with their correspondents, and find it necessary to make a change, I need not say that I should consider it highly creditable to be entrusted with the management of their business.

William McLeod, Esq., Nagore. *10th April, 1807.*

Hall mentioned to me yesterday that you had some intention of drawing upon us against the Sugar and Benjamin[1] by the *Zephyr* for some blue cloths which you are getting from Stephenson. If this be the case, do not draw at a short sight, for we are rather in want of cash, in consequence of disappointments we have experienced in not receiving some long expected remittances from the Eastward.

The office here, as well as those at Calcutta, seem determined not to insure to the West Coast, the risk however

[1] The aromatic and resinous juice of the *Styrax Benzoin* of Java and Sumatra. Used in perfumery, in pastilles, for incense and court-plaster.

is not so great as it has been, for I understand there is one of the King's Cruisers on that station.

To Henry Brown, Esq., Ramnad. *14th April, 1807.*

As it is of the greatest consequence that your cotton should be packed with the Iron screw, you should not lose any time in sending it here. Two Bales packed by the iron screw will not occupy more tonnage than one of yours. Singanah's buildings are nearly completed, and we will begin screwing in the course of a few days, and I could wish to have all your cotton baled in time for the China ships, you will therefore see the necessity of exporting it without delay. Nothing can possibly be more infamous than the conduct of the person you write about, it is for you to determine how far you can comply with the request he has made to you.

The screw which Singanah used last year was a wooden one, but of a superior description.

To Mr. Marceilly, Pondicherry. *21st May, 1807.*

In the expectation of having it in my power to give you some information about the sale of your Arrack I have delayed writing to you. The arrack shall be landed without delay, but it is with much concern I inform you that there is no prospect of an immediate sale of it. Mr. Balfour's Godowns are entirely full. You may rest assured, however, that I shall avail myself of the first favourable opportunity of prevailing on him to receive it.

On my return to Madras, I spoke to Capt. Frazer, about the book on architecture, and I find from him that he has got one of the editions of those mentioned in your list, I cannot therefore recommend you to send them down here.

To W. McLeod, Esq., Tranquebar. *16th June, 1807.*

Send me a memorandum of the number and sizes of the Ropes and Cables and let me know the lowest prices which will be taken for them. Brandy will not do, nor Gin either, unless very cheap. What is the price of the French Claret?

At what rate will you deliver the Mace here, and how much have you?

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *29th June, 1807.*

I shall once more venture to give you my opinion on the subject. Let the justice of the cause be with or against you on the American affair, you cannot bring the matter into Court without making yourself liable to the penalty of trading illegally to the United States.

To Henry Brown, Esq., Ramnad. *8th July, 1807.*

The Indiamen as you may observe by the papers have all arrived, but not an ounce of your cotton has as yet made its appearance. The delay is exceedingly vexatious. Captain Farrer who is now here informs me that he thinks the fleet must be off about the 1st or 5th of August at farthest.

To Patrick Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *16th July, 1807.*

Trading to America, whether the Goods be or be not marked, is illegal.

Your Rice stands you so very dear, that I do not believe it would answer your purpose to send it to Madras, it might sell for about 115 pagodas per Garce.[1]

To H. Compton, Esq., London. *23rd July, 1807.*

Sorry am I indeed that I can give you no good accounts of your affairs here; the House formerly occupied by Mr. Light and that at Vepery are both without tenants: I have done all in my power to get them rented but without success. Houses in this country are a bad property.[2] The difficulty which obtains in getting good tenants, and the constant repairs they require, are great drawbacks upon the rents they may yield when regularly let.

To A. Gibbons, Esq., Trincomalee. *27th July, 1807.*

The Root which I wrote to you about is that which is described by you as Sapapa in the enclosed paper, but we do not know at what rate per candy it can be procured well dried, and what quantity. It is only the root which can be made use of, but I want the specimens of the leaves and flowers to produce to the Medical Board to satisfy them that it is what they require, and if it is I think I shall get a contract for a quantity on good terms.

To Monsieur Marceilly, Pondicherry. *6th August, 1807.*

I have much pleasure in informing you that I have prevailed on Mr. Balfour to allow 34 Pags. per leager for the arrack instead of 30 Pags. at which price he has purchased

[1] A *garce* or *garse* is equivalent to 8,400 lb. of grain.

[2] Yet Parry later owned seven or eight houses himself.

from others. This will make a considerable difference in your favour, and I beg you will believe that I feel happy in the opportunity of rendering you this service. As the speculation, notwithstanding, must still be a losing one to you, I shall not make any charge for the use of my godowns.

To James Cochrane, Esq., S. Arcot. *18th August, 1807.*

I have received your letter of the 11th. The contents have astonished me; I calculated on getting at least 15,000 pounds of Indigo this year and from your statement it does not appear that I shall get 5,000.

Send me without delay a description of all the Indigo Works. I want to advertise the sale of them. That which Daverje gave Pugh has been mislaid—a copy of it will do, but a description of the Works of Trivady and Valvanore must be added. Do not delay this.

To H. Brown, Esq., Ramnad. *20th August, 1807.*

Your cotton comes in very slowly. Instead of 5 or 600 candies we have not yet received above 230 candies including what was received on hand last year. This is a serious disappointment as our advances are large and we expected at least 500 in time to have shipped on the Indiaman to China, and had made our arrangements accordingly.

I beg you will let me know with as little delay as possible what further quantity we may expect in the course of the present and the ensuing month.

To Edward Campbell, Esq., Chidambaram. 20th August, 1807.

On the other side you will receive a letter from

Mr. Fortin to me, respecting the Stills. I am sorry I cannot get Mr. Balfour to come to a final determination respecting them. None of the Doney people will take the Stills and sending them by a Cattermaran is out of the question.

I beg you will let me know what quantity of Indigo you expect to have ready for the October fleet.

To William McLeod, Esq., Nagore. *21st August, 1807.*

Private punjams, a few bales, may be purchased.

14 Punjams @ 48 to 50 Pags.
16 Punjams @ 54 to 55 Pags.
18 Punjams @ 65 Pags.

At what rate could you purchase the spices? Cloves will not answer, but I think Mace, if reasonable, may turn out a good speculation. You should not have paid Mr. Hermanson for the Claret. He was not entitled to anything from me as Admor,[1] but what he had disbursed for the House and servants, as Cullen's Estate is altogether insolvent.

When will you be back at Tranquebar? and who acts for you there? We are now shipping the Soap.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta. *22nd August, 1807.*

Sir H. Gwellin will thank you to send for him to our care the following Works:

A Digest of Mohummudan Law According to the Tenets of the twelve Inams, compiled under the superintendence of the late Sir W. Jones, by Captain John Baillie, & Colebrook on the Agriculture of Bengal.

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[1] Administrator.

If the Indigo seed be not very dear you may make it 100 Bags.

We await the arrival of the Ships from England with much anxiety. The moment they come in you shall hear from me.

To David Pugh, Esq., Penang. *13th August, 1807.*

I had no expectation that I should so soon have an opportunity of writing to you. Our friend Hunter is taken up by Government to carry Captain Farrer's Purser, who has been left behind with their despatches. I am busy packing up for him about 3,000 Pags. worth of piece goods for the Coast of Padur,[1] and as he is to sail this evening I think he will be at Penang very soon after you.

To A. T. Gibbons, Esq., Trincomalee. *26th August, 1807.*

In consequence of the very low price which arrack has been bought for this year by Mr. Balfour, I conclude you will have opportunities of purchasing that article remarkably cheap, I mean much under what you paid for it last year. If it is, get all you can. When the cutter returns I shall send you some Nankeens and sugar. Are you in want of white Nankeen or brown?

You must keep the Madeira and dispose of it as well as you can. The Punjam cloth you may send here. Never send any more shell boxes they will not sell for anything.

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *29th August, 1807.*

I am favoured with your letters of the 13th and 14th

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[1] Perhaps Padang.

inst. It does not appear to me likely that any purchaser will be found at Madras for the *Admiral Rainer*. I shall be happy, if it proves otherwise, to attend to your directions respecting the sale of her. If she comes in soon we can unload her in a few days as there are no ships in the Roads. From the account I have of her it would appear she is well calculated for the eastern trade, but by no means large enough to carry rice.

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. 9th September, 1807.

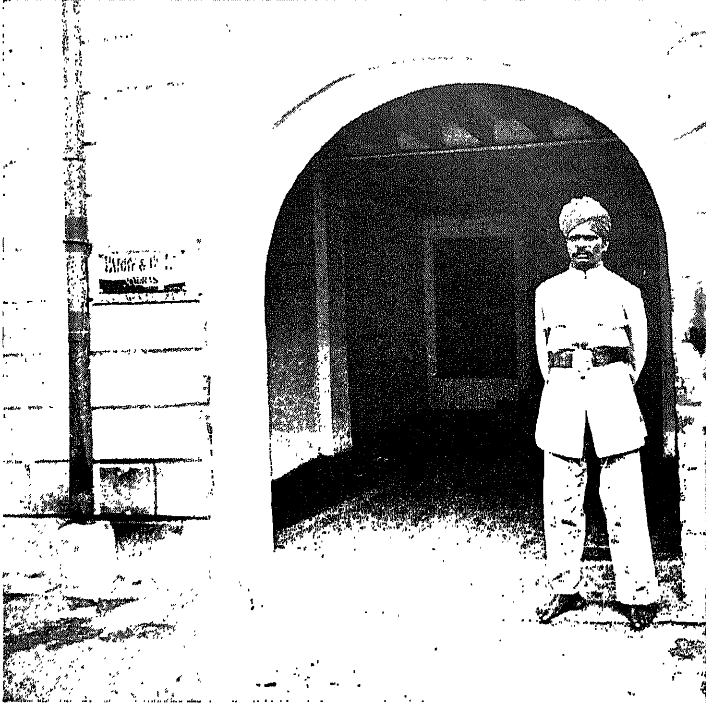
The Steel and Gunny Bags shall all be in readiness but it will not be possible to get the flat iron, there being none in the place.

To A. T. Gibbons, Esq., Trincomalee. 17th September, 1807.

I shall despatch the Cutter to-morrow. Owing to some changes in our medical department, it is not likely that I can do anything with the root of which you have sent me a specimen. You say "if I can get Mr. Baboom's leave for us about the Ebony, it will be a good thing." Leave to do what do you mean? Write to me fully and I will try what can be done.

I have paid grea attention to what you say on the affair of the Beef Contract. It does not appear to me advisable that you should, on any account, propose for it at less than 1¾ fanams per pound, and you are the best judge what can be done even at that rate—for my part I do not suppose much would be made by it. Others who are callous as to any remarks that may be made on them, for not furnishing good

(*a*)
The entrance to the Old Block.



PARRY'S BUILDINGS, 1938.

(*b*)
The same entrance, from inside.

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Beef, can ventûre to undertake what certainly we ought not to engage in.

Do not send any more Shell Boxes, we cannot sell one of them. Satin wood is also a bad article—what we sent to Calcutta is all on hand and no offer for it.

To H. Powney, Esq., Colombo. *3rd October, 1807.*

I do not think it at all likely that I shall have a chance of disposing of Coffee at the rate you mention, 6 Pags. per parah, which I believe is about 1s. ⅛d. per lb. I have no price current from the Cape, but I will endeavour to get some information of the state of the market there, and if I succeed you shall hear from me.

The price of Coffee in London on the 14th of April was:—

Fine West India	per cwt.	...	135 to 145[1]
Good	do.	...	125 to 135
Middling	do.	...	110 to 125
Mocha	do.	...	138

Java and Ceylon—none in the market.

The Exchange on England at present is 8/7 and 8/6d. at 30 d/s.

I have very great reason to believe that I think I could make an arrangement for any arrack you may send here in the next three months at 35 Pags. per Leager. If it be your intention to deal in this article next year, let me know what quantity you can engage to deliver here and the lowest price

[1] Say £7 per cwt. against to-day's price of about 70s. to 80s.

you can take for it, and I will endeavour to make a contract for you.

To P. Lawson, Esq., Bimlipatam. *5th October, 1807.*

The *Admiral Rainer* sailed yesterday about 12 o'clock. I hope she will make a good voyage.

As there was no faggot steel (long) to be procured the only shipment we made was 3,000 Gunny Bags, which Capt. Crawford said he should perhaps have occasion for.

The price of Pepper at present is exceedingly low, about 22 Pags. a candy,[1] but I observe that is even better than Bengal where you state it to be only 9 rupees the factory maund.[2]

To F. Ingles, Esq., Bencoolen. *23rd October, 1807.*

When Captain Robertson of the *Henry Addington* was last at Bencoolen, he left with you a quantity of Tobacco, half of which belongs to me, for sale. Has it been disposed of?

I hope you are doing well and enjoying health and happiness.

To A. Colvin, Esq., Calcutta. *9th October, 1807.*

The produce of the Works with the produce of Indigo this year, although trifling, will, I think, cover all our advances. I hope we shall do better next year and send large consignments to our friends in London.

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[1] Say Rs. 17-8-0 per cwt. against to-day's price of Rs. 18 to Rs. 22.

[2] About Rs. 12-4-0 per cwt.

I am very much obliged to you for the information contained in your letter of the 20th August and for the muster piece of Indigo. It is evidently much superior in the grain and of a much closer quality than ours. However, I hope from your kind communications to make great improvements in our process.

Do the manufacturers in Bengal turn the cakes after they are placed in the Drying House? If so how often? What description of cloth is used for straining the Indigo after it is taken from the Vat and the Copper? and, is the Indigo allowed to boil in the Copper, and how long?

You will, I am afraid, think me very troublesome. I am anxious, if possible, to bring the making of Indigo on the Coast to perfection, and there is no one to whom I can apply so capable of giving me advice and assistance as yourself.[1]

To William McLeod, Esq., Nagore. *10th October, 1807.*

The House have written you fully about your offer regarding the Spices from Batavia. I shall always be happy to join you in any speculation of this description, as I am sure it must turn out well, and I would immediately supply you with funds in Piece Goods or otherwise for the value of the Spices at Batavia, or even for the nominal value which they may bear at Madras when landed—the profit from the whole concern of course to be equally divided.

To William McLeod, Esq., Nagore. *10th October, 1807.*

To secure the purchase of the articles from Batavia you

[1] Parry did much to improve the process of manufacture of indigo in South Arcot.

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may go a Pagoda or two further for the arrack—it is of no consequence.

To Gilbert Ross & John Burgie, Esq.,

c/o 'Dover Castle' to U.K., c/o American ship 'Huron'.

I have the pleasure to enclose an invoice and bill of lading for a Box of Pearls shipped on the *Dover Castle*—Capt. Richardson, amounting to St. Pags. 2,598.28, and also an invoice and bill of lading for five chests of Mace, Cloves and Nutmegs amounting to star Pags. 1,494.29.10, which I hope will arrive safe and to a good market. The pearls are of the size recommended by Mr. John Burgie and ought to answer well, and if the price of the mace continues so high as it was in March last, that article must bring a handsome profit.

To Francis Schuler, Esq., Cochin. *10th November, 1807.*

The Box of Ornaments was forwarded to Ramalingam on the 22nd September and I hope has reached you in safety long ago.

In regard to the remaining Jewels, it does not appear that there is any chance of disposing of them here for anything near the value put upon them—as they are mostly out of fashion it would scarcely be worth while to send them home. Perhaps the best way would be to sell them by public Outcry.

To E. W. Stevenson, Esq., *16th November, 1807.*

The last report from England about Cullen's Indigo is a little more favourable—they call it "*a fancy article*". The

fact is they do not know much about the matter and always undervalue anything new. I trust that we shall in another year rival the Bengal Heroes.

To Colonel Brunton, London. *22nd November, 1807.*

Our trade has of late been miserably destroyed by the enemy's cruizers in the Bay—the property captured within the last three months amounts to at least 20 lacs of rupees. Sir E. Pellew is gone on an expedition to the Eastward—one of the objects he has in view is supposed to be the destruction of the enemy's line of Battle Ships.

This letter goes by an American to sail to-morrow and I think will find its way to England as soon as the October fleet.

To Gilbert Ross, Esq., London. *22nd November, 1807.*

In a price current dated in June last Camphor is stated at 20/- per cwt. but from your letter I suppose that was merely a nominal price I shall be glad to hear that mine is sold. I also notice that the price of Mace, in particular, was very high.

To John Davison, Esq., *4th December, 1807.*

I will thank you to send off the Bale of Paper immediately by coolies, having it first carefully packed to prevent the wet getting at it. Mr. Davis of the Gazette Press, to whom it belongs, is in great want of it. The keg of ink may be sent hereafter by sea.

To C. Breithaupt, Esq., Cuddalore. *24th December, 1807.*

I send herewith some directions about boiling, pressing, drying and sweating the Indigo—the latter process, sweating, has not I believe been used at our Works—but it is no doubt of consequence and will prevent the cakes from cracking, and render the grain finer.

At what rate can you ship salt[1] at Cuddalore for Calcutta, deliverable there including freight and all charges? It appears to me that something may be made by this trade, and if you please we will make it a joint concern.

THE BOILING PROCESS.

The fecula after being taken out of the Vat is put into another and diluted with clean water so as to make it boil freely, and I believe the best rule is to allow it to boil until the bubbles which rise entirely subside, when it will have thrown off the fixed air, and be ready to put in the straining cloths—which should be done as soon as possible.

THE PRESSING PROCESS.

The pressing should be carried on by degrees, constantly attending to it, and occasionally turning the screws until it is of sufficient consistency to be cut with a knife—when it is cut into squares. (Your squares or cakes are of a very good size).

THE DRYING PROCESS.

The Drying Houses here are fitted with stages about two feet above each other so as to admit a free circulation of air betwixt them and are about 2½ feet wide, so that a man can reach across to turn the cake which is done every week or oftener—the cakes are placed about an inch or two from each other—a current of hot wind is excluded by means of Mats or Gunnies hung before the windows.

[1] There are still salt pans at Cuddalore worked by Messrs. Parry & Co., Ltd.

THE SWEATING PROCESS.

When the Indigo appears to be perfectly dry it is put into boxes, or in heaps, and covered over with Mats and Cloths, when it undergoes the sweating process and throws the moisture out from the heart of the case—after it has been in this state for a few days the heat begins to subside when the Indigo is again placed on the drying stages for a few days longer to dry—it is then brushed, sorted and packed.

To Joseph Bryan & James Bachr, Esq.,
c/o Abraham Lott, Esq., New York. 7th July, 1808.

In consequence of the permission you have kindly given me, I beg leave to trouble you with the enclosed letters for Mr. Mathew Boles, the brother of Major Thomas Boles, Deputy Adjutant General to the Army on this Establishment. As Major Boles is uncertain regarding the residence of his brother, he wishes that you will on your arrival cause the enclosed advertisement to be inserted in the New York and Boston papers. On the other side of the paper on which the advertisement is written, are some particulars respecting Mr. Boles for your guidance.

By the enclosed letter from Major Boles you will observe it is his wish that his brother should come to this country and in the event of your having the good fortune to fall in with Mr. Boles and he be disposed to come to India, I shall esteem it a particular favour if you will afford him your aid to get a passage and make him an advance of 1,500 Dollars for his bills on Major Boles or myself, which you may rest assured will be duly honoured. In return for the trouble you will have in this business I can only assure you that nothing can afford me greater pleasure than to be useful

to you in any way in my power, whenever you may do me the favour to command my services.

To Messrs. Bryan & Bachr, New York. *14th July, 1808.*

A small vessel of about the burthen of 290 tons might be annually sent to Madras for a cargo of Piece Goods and other articles procurable at that place.

The vessel might proceed from America to Madiera or Teneriffe where she could take in a cargo of Wine and from either of these ports go on to Madras. The persons in charge of the ship should write to their agents at Madras direct from America or by way of England, informing them of the time they may probably be expected at Madras, and transmit a list of the articles required for the return cargo. This would enable the Agents at Madras to get the goods of the best quality, and to have them in readiness on the ship's arrival, when the Captain would have nothing to do but to land his Wine and anything else he may have on board immediately to take in his return cargo, a plan which would shorten the voyage considerably and of course add greatly to the profits.

To John Donnel, Esq., U. S. A. *15th October, 1808.*

As I trust this is only the beginning of a correspondence which may hereafter prove mutually advantageous, I shall take the liberty of pointing out a plan for employing the *Ann* or any other of your ships of her size, should you be disposed to continue the trade from this place, which I think cannot fail of turning out very profitable.

I believe we should have no difficulty in getting an annual supply of 2,000 or 2,500 peculs of Coffee from Ceylon provided we were certain of your sending a ship for it and from 40,000 to 60,000 pounds of Indigo of a quality equal to the Musters contained in the box which Captain Russell will deliver to you, the price of which will be about 3 Arcot Rupees per pound. The rest of the cargo may consist of Madras Handkerchiefs, Ventapolliam Handkerchiefs, Muslins, Manilla Ginghams, White Long Cloths, White Salempores, and Blue Salempores and other articles the produce and manufacture of this Coast to any extent that you may desire. All these goods, I understand, sell well in America, particularly the Madras and Ventapolliam Handkerchiefs, for which there must be a great demand in the Spanish Colonies, owing to the entire stop to all trade betwixt this country and Manilla, from whence those colonies were formerly supplied with the manufactures of India.

Pepper is also an article which can always be purchased here on tolerably reasonable terms, but it is not likely that we can again supply it at so low rate as we have now done for the *Ann.*

The Indigo you will find on examination to be of the very best quality, and such as has often been sold in the London market for S. 12 per pound. On the Continent it would be very valuable. It is manufactured at some Indigo works belonging principally to my partner, Mr. Pugh and myself, and which are situated in Cuddalore on this Coast. What is called the common country Indigo made at that place has always been considered as giving out a superior colour

and the blue cloths dyed there are well known, and in general estimation.

As it is possible we may sometimes have opportunities of making purchases of Ceylon Cinnamon, I will thank you to let us know how that article will answer for the American market, and what may be expected for it per pound.

Should you return Captain Russel with the *Ann* or any other of your ships to Madras, I would recommend your putting into her about 200 barrels of Tar and fifty tons of Iron Hoops—the latter to be of a size which would answer for leagers of 150 gallons, and they should be packed in boxes. A quantity of Brandy might also answer, should none of late have been sent from America to India.

Captain Russel, in consequence of your orders regarding passengers being so very particular, has felt himself under some difficulty about taking on board two gentlemen who are accompanying him—Captain Newell, the Master of a vessel under American colours called the *Creole,* which has been condemned, and Mr. Chabit, an American who was a passenger with Captain Newell from the Isle of France.

However as Mr. Chabit has a regular permit from the Government of Madras, and His Excellency Admiral Sir E. Pellew having no objection to his embarking on board the *Ann,* Captain Russel thought he might be charged with a want of humanity and feeling for a fellow countryman in distress had he refused him a passage. I hope you will approve of what he has done. In regard to Captain Newell there does not appear any objection.

As it is of the utmost consequence that Captain Russel

should leave these Roads without delay owing to the lateness of the season, and it being impossible to collect all the documents which may be necessary to enable you to recover from the Underwriters in the event of your being ensured the expenses, etc., which have attended his detention in readiness without subjecting him to remain here longer, we think it advisable that he should proceed to sea without delay and you may rely on receiving these documents from us.

J. DePonthieu, Esq., London. *25th October, 1808.*

I have now to return you my best thanks for your letters of the 26th January and 7th April and for the information they contain respecting the state of the London market for India produce.

By the present fleet you will receive a further consignment of Tinnevelly cotton, which, should the embargo in America continue, cannot fail, I think, of coming to a good market.

We have also made to you a small consignment of Indigo—our crops of leaf have entirely failed this year owing to the want of rain at the beginning of the season. What we have sent will, I hope, convince you that we have brought the manufacture of this article at our Works to the greatest perfection.

To the Hon'ble A. Johnston, Esq., Colombo.

23rd January, 1809.

In the year 1807 I requested of my friend Major Beaver, to ascertain from His Excellency General Maitland,

whether a tract of land on the Island of Ceylon could be granted to me for a term of ninety-nine years. I was informed in reply that it could not possibly be done.

If my request could have been complied with it was my intention to have solicited a grant of about ten thousand acres of ground on the east side of the Island between Trincomalee and Jaffrapatam (the greater part of that country was then, and I believe still is, in an unproductive state) for the purpose of introducing the cultivation of the Indigo plant, for the growth of which, so far as I could then ascertain, it is peculiarly well adopted. Indeed in the year 1806, when I was on the Island, I noticed the plant at Cotiar, although wild, in a flourishing state.

Although the Principle object I had in view when I proposed the request above mentioned through Major Beaver, was to secure a quantity of land sufficient for a large Indigo establishment, I had it at the same time in contemplation to make trials of coffee, sugar and other articles.

I am induced to trouble you on this subject in consequence of having been informed that His Excellency General Maitland has it in contemplation to propose to His Majesty's Ministers some alteration in the system of Government which has prevailed in Ceylon, since the British have had possession of it. Should the granting of lands to Europeans be one of the changes proposed, I shall consider it a particular favour if you will have the goodness to bring again to His Excellency's notice the request which I formerly made through Major Beaver.

A regulation to this effect would certainly induce many people, particularly descendants of Europeans, who may acquire property on the continent of India, to settle in Ceylon if they could secure that property by the purchase of land, which they are precluded from doing in the Company's possession.

5.

THE TANNERY.

Within less than a year of the founding of his tannery in 1805, Parry was endeavouring to open up an export business in tanned hides with the United Kingdom.

From the following letter addressed to the President of the Board of Trade in Madras on the 28th January, 1806, it will be noted that Parry could not make the shipment at all without the Company's permission; and further that Indian products then paid a higher duty than colonial goods on entry into the U. K.—a disability which Parry endeavoured to have redressed.

"*To James Strange, Esq.,*

President and Members of the Board of Trades.

Gentlemen,

I beg you will grant me permission to ship on the

Hon'ble Company's Ship *Metcalf* 5,000 Goat Skins, a few Calve Skins and one hundred hides, tanned; they will be packed in small bales, and will not I suppose occupy a larger space than two Tons.

This leather, the first that has been tanned at Madras, is the production of a Tannery lately commenced upon by me, and I am desirous of sending it to London to ascertain whether it will answer for the Market there.

Should the demand at home equal my expectations, I have every reason to believe that I can prepare for exportation at least one hundred thousand Goat Skins annually; and as it will in that case become a matter of much importance to me to get the Leather put upon the same footing in respect to Duties as colonial productions of the like description, and which I understand can only be done by an act of the Legislature, I take the liberty to request you will mention the subject to the Right Honorable the Governor in Council who I trust will have the goodness to notice it in a favourable manner to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors by the present despatch, which I am persuaded will induce them to support any application which it may be necessary to make to Parliament on the occasion."

Parry duly received the space required in the Ship *Metcalf* and accordingly addressed the following letter to his London Agents, Messrs. Ross & Burgie, on the 9th February, 1806:—

"By the Ship *Metcalf* I have made a consignment to you of 17 Bales containing Tanned Hides, Calf and Goat Skins

manufactured at a Tannery lately commenced upon by me at this place.

This leather is sent as a specimen of what my new establishment is capable of producing, and in order to ascertain how far it is likely to suit the London Market.

In this undertaking I shall have every support I can require from Government and I expect that the demand for Leather of the coarser kind for the use of the Army and otherwise, will be considerable.

I enclose for your information copies of several papers respecting this Establishment, which will give you some insight into the nature of it and the extent to which it can be carried on.

I have no doubt of your meeting with every assistance that you can ask at the India House in any application it may be necessary to make to Parliament respecting the Duty, should it appear that the demand for the Leather is likely to be considerable. Mr. Roberts of the direction has been written to on this subject by my friend Mr. Sherson the reporter of External Commerce and I could wish Mr. Ross to counsel him.

Mr. Peter Bower the person who superintends the professional part of the business at the Tannery, sold to Captain Jones of the *Tottenham* in the year 1803 a quantity of leather which was afterwards disposed of by him to Mr. Sparhas Moline of Leadenhall Street, who expressed a desire to Mr. Bristowe, at that time in London and in some way connected with Mr. Bower, to enter into engagements for a regular supply. The Leather bought by Captain Jones was

made at Calcutta, where Mr. Bower then resided: he is however of opinion that what is now manufactured by us, is of a superior quality.

On the receipt of this letter I have to beg you will see Mr. Moline, and consult with him as to the best mode of disposing of the present consignment by the *Metcalf* which I suppose should be bought in on my account, and afterwards sold to the Leather Sellers. As the consignment is intended merely as a trial, the Company, perhaps on an application to that effect, may indulge you with permission to take it away immediately.

Mr. Moline told Mr. Bristowe there would be no difficulty in getting the duty taken off, if an application were made to Parliament. He will I daresay be able to give you some advice as to the most eligible method of proceeding to effect so desirable an object.

You will make an offer of the present consignment to Mr. Moline and assure him of a preference in all future shipments that I may make to you.

Should he be disposed to enter into engagements for an annual supply, in that case I beg you will let me know by the first overland Despatch what price he would pay for the skins, and what quantity it is likely he will take.

A part of the Goat Skins now sent are tanned in the Turkish manner, and will answer, I understand, particularly well for what is called black Spanish Leather. The other Goat Skins will be useful for dress Boots and Shoes, book binding, and in a variety of ways. Be good enough to ask

Mr. Moline which manner of Tanning is to be preferred and the proportions of each which it may be advisable to send.

It will occur to you to consult other professional men on this business, the concern may be carried on to a great extent if there be a demand for the Leather at home, and I am exceedingly anxious to gain every possible information on the subject.

I shall be very thankful to Mr. Burgie if he will be kind enough to procure and transmit to me as soon as possible Receipts for the most approved methods of dyeing Morocco Leather of all colours, particularly red, blue, yellow and green. I will also thank him to purchase for me any late works which appear to be in repute, relative to the Art of Tanning and Manufacturing Leather. Should the concern answer my expectations his commission on the sales of the Leather will be some compensation for all his trouble.

I have mentioned a hundred thousand skins as the probable extent of what I can export annually—however I have no doubt that I shall be able at least to double that quantity.

As I am sure I can rely on your using every exertion to promote the success of this undertaking I have only further to request that you will let me hear from you by the overland despatch as fully as you possibly can."

It is not altogether clear on what terms Parry was allowed to make this shipment, but it is curious that his London Agents should have had to buy the consign-

ment in on arrival, and that the granting of immediate delivery at the London Docks against payment should have been looked upon as an "indulgence" on the part of the Company.

Having tanned his hides and started finding a market for them, Parry set about turning them into manufactured articles. He wrote to Calcutta on the 19th February, 1806, for certain material, and asked for a dozen accomplished boot-makers to be sent down. It seems odd that he did not mention any terms of service for these latter. Here is his letter:—

"Dear Dring,

I beg you will be kind enough to purchase and forward to me as soon as possible:—

3,000 yards of Shoebinding, half black and half white, such as is used for binding Gentlemen's shoes—it is made at Calcutta and costs about 3 rupees the 100 yds. It must be of the best quality.

3,000 Bones of Buffaloe Horn, made in imitation of Whale Bone—they are used for putting in Hussar Boots.

I shall also esteem it a particular favour if you will engage about twelve of the best Boot-Makers such as have been taught by Europeans and get a passage for them to Madras. Dufraram Bosh the Circar of Mr. Peter Bower formerly of Calcutta can put you in the way of getting these men and the articles above mentioned.

Whatever advances you may have to make on this occasion you will be good enough to place to the debit of Parry Lane & Co., with your firm.

We shall require no further supplies of Boots or Leather or anything else in that way from Calcutta, so if any of your friends should think of sending such articles here you had better advise them against it."

Parry had in mind securing orders from Government for boots and accoutrements for the Madras Army, and he wrote to a Major Walker at Mangalore asking what price he could ask for the boots:—

"I intend very soon making proposals to Government to supply them with boots for the Native Cavalry, and belts and pouches for the whole Army. Can you give me any information as to the price I might demand for the boots? They will be equal to those sent from England for the King's Regiments."

Parry next went for the American market and shipped goods worth—in his estimation—3,269 pagodas, or £1,300, by an American vessel which had called at Madras. The shipment was made in charge of a Capt. Jackson, and the details of Parry's arrangements in this connection are worth recording. They are set forth in the following memorandum signed by him dated the 25th March, 1806. It is interesting to note that in his opinion a 200-ton ship and a full cargo

of wheat could be bought in the United States at that time for £1,300. His effort to arrange for return cargo is interesting, *i.e.*, leather to the States, wheat from the States to Teneriffe, wine from Teneriffe to Madras:—

"Accompanying this Capt. Jackson will receive the following Musters of Leather, the production of the Madras Tannery.

3 wax Goat Skins fit for making upper leather for Boots and Shoes.

1 wax Goat Skin black buffed for making upper leather for Boots and Shoes.

1 wax Goat Skin, small, black buffed for making upper leather for Boots and Shoes.

1 wax Goat Skin black buffed tanned after the Turkish manner.

1 small Goat Skin, brown, this may be made use of in various ways, and is in the same state as the 12,750 Goat Skins delivered to Capt. Jackson. It may be dressed black in any manner by the Leather Dressers or used for binding books or in any way which brown leather or dressing leather can be used.

1 waxed Buffalow Calf Skin fit for upper leathers for Boots and Shoes.

1 Yellow Morocco Goat Skin half dressed.

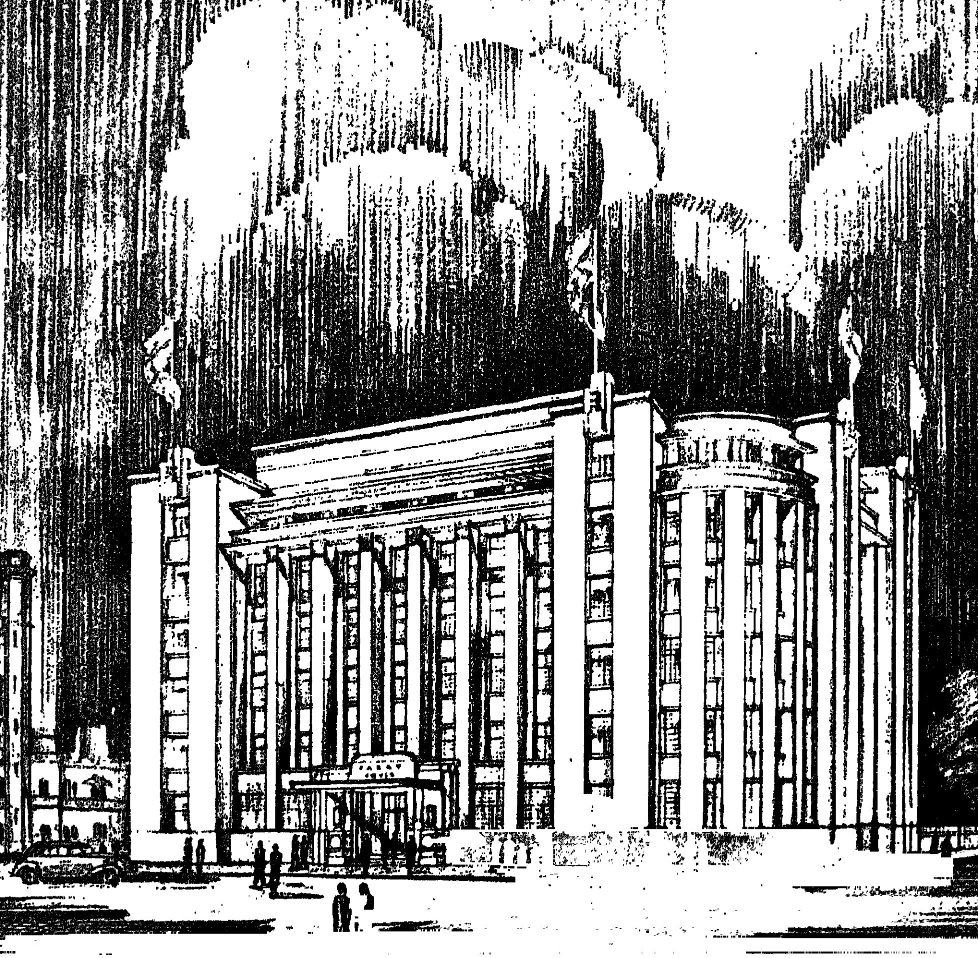
1 pair of Cerdovin Boot Legs.

Capt. Jackson will also receive enclosed a bill for the Leather with which he has been supplied amounting to Pags. 3,269:4:48. It is recommended to Capt. Jackson on his arrival at New York to wait upon the most respectable Leather Dealer and to show him the Musters of Leather which he carries with him for sale, particularly of the half dressed or tanned Goat Skins in the Brown State which form the principal part of the Investment. It is supposed that this description of Leather will sell to considerable advantage, as Raw Goat Skins sell in the American Market generally for ¾ Dollars per Skin, and are in great demand. One of the tanned Goat Skins is sufficient to make upper Leather for four pairs of Shoes, and when dressed by the Currier will be very valuable. The Upper Leather for a pair of good shoes it is presumed cannot be worth less than half a Dollar, which will make the value of one skin two Dollars. However, if Capt. Jackson finds he can sell the Goat Skins in the Brown State for one Dollar each he had better do so, if on enquiry he finds more cannot be got, then he may enter into a contract for an annual supply of from fifty to seventy thousand skins at that rate to be paid for on the delivery of the Skins in America. Capt. Jackson is requested to endeavour to obtain every possible information respecting the American Market for leather and to notice particularly such as are most in demand, getting musters of each of their prices. He will also inform himself in what manner the Brown Leather and brown Goat Skins are disposed of by the American Dealers, and ascertain at what prices Leather of a description equal to the Musters which he carries with him will bring in

America, and what quantity of each would meet with a regular sale annually.

As the manufactory where the Leather has been made is at present in its infancy, great improvements in it will of course take place, and the Leather which hereafter may be sent from it will of course be of a quality very superior to what has hitherto been made there. These observations apply particularly to the dressed Leather and to the Boots, the people who are employed in those branches being merely apprenticed, but in time there is not the least doubt that dressed Leather and Boots and Shoes can be made at the Tannery of the first description.

Should the Leather answer the general expectation and Capt. Jackson finds it likely to become a trade worth pursuing, he is advised in order to make the return of his present Invoice in the most advantageous manner and to provide for carrying it on in future, to purchase a small vessel, say about Two hundred Tons, and to fill her with a cargo of Wheat, both which it is supposed the Proceeds of the Leather will be sufficient to provide for, to carry the Wheat to Teneriff for sale and to invest the produce of it in good Teneriff wine fit for the India Market and then to make the best of his way with the wine to Madras. Capt. Jackson will, of course, lose no opportunity of informing Mr. Parry of his views and expectations, and when he is certain as to his returning to India, he had better advise Mr. Parry of the value of the vessel and cargo which he may purchase, and her destination, and Mr. Parry can insure the amount at Madras on Capt. Jackson's



NEW OFFICE BUILDING FOR PARRY'S CORNER

Perspective drawing by Messrs. Ballardie, Thompson & Matthews, Chartered Architects, Calcutta.

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account. Capt. Jackson will, of course, forward Invoice and Bill of Lading for what he may put on board.

Should the Leather unfortunately not sell so well as expected, and the Trade not appear worth pursuing, Capt. Jackson will dispose of what he carries in the best way he can and remit the proceeds to Messrs. Gilbert Ross and Andrew Burgie, Mark Lane, London, with directions to remit an account with Messrs. Parry Lane & Co., of Madras, for the amount on his Capt. Jackson's account with them."

Parry never heard of Captain Jackson again, and this consignment, invoiced for some Rs. 11,500, was a dead loss.

By the 1st April, 1806, he was ready with samples of pouches and accoutrements for the Madras Army, and he addressed the following letter to the Secretary to the Military Board; Parry, it will be noted, had already started making boots:—

"I take the liberty to send by the bearer, for the inspection of the President and Members of the Military Board, a Muster sett of accoutrements, consisting of:—

1 Pouch,
1 Pouch Belt, Buff,
1 Bayonet Belt, Buff,

which have been made at a leather manufactory lately established by me, and should they be approved of, I request you will do me the favour to state to the Board that I shall

be glad to enter into a contract for a regular supply of any number of each article that may be required for the use of the army on the following terms:—

Pouch		fs. 30/-
Pouch Belt Buff		fs. 29/-
Bayonet Belt Buff		fs. 32/-
	Per Sett	91/- fanams.

By the last Invoice of Articles of this description, received from England, it appears that the Prime Cost was as follows:—

Pouch	shs. 7/9
Buff Pouch Belt	shs. 7/–
Buff Bayonet Belt	shs. 8/7
Shs. 23/4 or Pags. 2.42 per sett	

exclusive of the charges of freight and other expenses of bringing them to India, being 41 fanams per sett more than the prices at which I would undertake to furnish them. It will occur to the Board that leather of every description is liable to considerable damage when imported by sea, and I have no doubt that it will be found on inspection that many of the accoutrements sent out by the Hon'ble Company for the use of their Army on this Establishment are often received in an unserviceable state.

If the articles above mentioned were supplied on the spot at the prices I have specified, there would be a saving of nearly 1/3 in the first instance, and when the expense of

sending them to India, the interest of money and the loss sustained by damage at sea, and otherwise is taken into consideration, it may be fairly stated that a saving of one half the sum now annually expended for accoutrements for the use of the Army would be the consequence.

In order that the Members of the Board may have an opportunity of examining the leather of which it is intended the Pouches shall be made, I have sent herewith two half hides, one in a Brown and one in a prepared state, and which in quality, I have every reason to believe, are not surpassed by any leather of the like description manufactured in England, or elsewhere, and being fresh and not subjected to the effect of damage from accidents or otherwise from sea conveyance it must possess many advantages over leather imported from Europe.

The Buff has been prepared under the direction of Mr. Bower, who manufactured leather of that description in Bengal, and the Board will find from the enclosed copy of a certificate granted by Colonel Green commanding the Artillery at Fort William, that Belts made of it answered as well as those imported from Europe.

I have also taken the liberty to send in the Box containing the muster accoutrements, a pair of Boots made entirely of leather manufactured by me, and after the fashion of those used by the Troopers of His Majesty's Dragoon Regiments, with which it may perhaps be thought advisable to furnish the Troops of the Native Regiments of Cavalry in preference to the present mode of supplying them or of send-

ing for them from England. These boots could be made at the rate of Pags. 2½ per pair.

Should any alterations in the musters be required, I shall have much pleasure in making them, and I beg you will do me the favour to mention to the Board that I shall be happy to enter into engagements for supplying any other articles made of leather, which may be required for the use of the Army on the Coast."

This offer was apparently not accepted, but Parry returned to the attack on the 8th July, 1806, with the following offer:—

"I beg you will do me the favour to inform His Excellency the President and Members of the Military Board that I will undertake to supply 12,000 Setts of Buff Accoutrements for the use of the public service at the rate of two Pags. for each sett. Should this offer be approved of I trust the Board will assist me with an advance of Five thousand Pags. I shall require no further aid till Two thousand and five hundred setts shall have been received at the Arsenal. The remainder to be paid for on the delivery of every thousand setts."

This offer was duly accepted and Parry wrote to a friend in Bimlipatam on the 18th July:—

"You will be glad to hear that I have obtained a contract with Government for supplying them with 12,000 setts of Accoutrements, and which will amount to 24,000 Pagodas. I expect to get an order for an additional number and for

many other articles. The Tannery will in time, I have every reason to believe, turn out a profitable concern."

By the 1st August, 1806, Parry found his local supply of raw hides failing, and he had to look round for means of augmenting this. He therefore wrote to Capt. Seton in Penang:—

"I wrote to you some time ago about purchasing Hides, and I have now to trouble you again on the same subject: the price you formerly mentioned was very high but as I have got a contract for supplying Government with accoutrements for the Army, I am anxious to get all the hides I can, and I beg of you to make an arrangement with the person who kills cattle at Penang to deliver to you all the Hides of Buffaloes and other cattle which he may slaughter during the ensuing twelve months and on the most reasonable terms you can affect it: the agreement to be continued if the Hides be found to answer my purpose. They must be well salted and dried or cured in some other manner, to prevent the maggots from destroying the grain and when they are doubled to be parted the sides should be outward. They must not be tanned at all as that would defeat the purpose for which I want them which is to make buff leathers. You will, I am sure, excuse this trouble. The hides may be sent as opportunity offers. The Tannery gets on well and I hope will in a few years make up for my losses by the *Wellesley*. It has given me a great deal of trouble hitherto but I derive much satisfaction from having established at this place a new

manufacture which promises to be a public benefit as well as individually advantageous."

Parry had not hoped to do more than supply boots and accoutrements for the Indian troops in Madras, and he must have been much flattered to receive a letter from Col. Davies, Commanding His Majesty's 25th Dragoons at Bangalore, ordering a supply of boots. To this Parry replied on the 5th August:—

"I feel myself much indebted to you for your obliging letter of the 30th ult. Although I have an abundance of leather of the best quality it is not yet in my power to forward to you immediately the number of boots you require, the Bootmakers not being sufficiently advanced in their profession to work it up in a proper manner. In the course of a few months I expect they will be able to make boots in such a way as I may venture to offer them to you. In the meantime I have given directions to the person in charge of the Tannery to prepare a muster boot; so soon as it is finished it shall be sent to you and you can point out any alteration which may be thought necessary. I shall also forward to you specimens of leather."

By October, 1806, only a little more than a year after the Tannery was started, Parry had "works of considerable magnitude going forward" which required "much looking after." On the 10th October he wrote to Col. Davies:—

"I forwarded, a few days ago, to Major Travers at Vellore a pair of Hessian Boots and half a hide of brown leather with a request that he would transmit them to you. Should the boots answer your expectation I shall in a very short time be able to supply you with any number you may have occasion for."

Parry's productions from the Tannery seem to have met with the approval of the Military Board and he was eventually promised the support of the Board of Trade in Madras. His turnover was now growing, and he began to find it more and more difficult to secure adequate supplies of raw hides. His difficulties were accentuated by the fact that 1805 and 1806 had been famine years, but, in addition to this, increasing quantities of raw hides were being exported from Madras, mostly, according to Parry, by Captains of American vessels.

The question of an export duty on raw hides has been almost a hardy annual in Madras for many years, and it is possible that Parry, in his letter to the Board of Trade of the 9th January, 1807, originated the idea. He wrote:—

"The promise of support with which I have been honoured by your Board in regard to my endeavours to establish a Tannery at Madras induces me to trouble you on

a matter on which the success of the undertaking materially depends.

I have of late met with considerable difficulties in obtaining raw skins from the native Butchers, (with whom I have regular contracts for the skins of all the sheep and goats slaughtered by them) owing to the interference of Dubashes employed by Captains and other persons belonging to American vessels, who, when they have occasion to make purchases, by offering a higher price than is given by me, obtain in a clandestine manner all the prime skins.

As I presume that Government may, if they deem proper, put a stop to the exportation of raw skins and hides by foreign ships, I trust I shall not be thought unreasonable in requesting the Board of Trade to recommend to the Right Honorable the Governor in Council to issue an order to that effect."

Shortage of supplies of raw hides continued to worry him, and, having tried to import from Penang, Parry now made efforts to get suppplies from Colombo:—

"I shall esteem it a favour if you will make an arrangement with the butcher at Colombo for all the Hides of the cattle slaughtered by him (Buffaloes included). If he will deliver them here well dried, I will pay him for as many as he can send, at the rate of one Rex Dollar[1] each."

On the 10th February, 1807, Parry tried a consignment of ordinary boots and of "officer's boots made

[1] The exchange was 5 Rex Dollars to the Pagoda. One Rex Dollar therefore equalled 11 annas.

after the Hungarian fashion" to the Cape of Good Hope. He also enquired for raw hides from that market. Parry does not seem to have thought much of British workmanship, as the following letter addressed to Messrs. Reynolds Elmore & Co., at the Cape shows:—

"Mr. Reynolds who is about to sail for the Cape has been so obliging as to take charge of four chests of boots and shoes amounting to, as per Invoice herewith, S. Pags. 848:25:40. The boots are of a better description than those formerly sent, and I have to request you will have the goodness to get them disposed of in retail. The leather is of the best quality and although the workmanship is not so, yet I am persuaded they will be found extremely serviceable, and that one pair of them will last as long as a pair of Europe boots.

By Mr. Reynolds I send a muster pair of officer's boots made after the Hungarian fashion and I will thank you to let me know at what price you think you could dispose of a few hundred pairs of them.

I have been informed that dry hides are to be purchased at the Cape, and very cheap. I should be glad to receive any number you can procure deliverable here at the rate of five hides for one Star Pagoda."

The price offered is the equivalent of about 1sh. 5d. per hide.

Not content with his feelers in Ceylon, Penang and the Cape for raw hides, Parry on the 24th Febru-

ary, 1807, wrote again to his agent in Penang asking him to tap the Far East:—

"I have again to request your attention to the purchase of hides, I require a large supply for the Tannery to enable me to complete my engagements with Government. If you can make a contract for Buffaloe Hide, with some of the eastern traders at the rate of about three for a Dollar, it would answer my purpose remarkably well."

The sample boots sent to Col. Davies obviously gave satisfaction, and Parry duly received an order for 100 pairs which he despatched to Bangalore for the use of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons[1]. These he invoiced at 3 pagodas or about one guinea per pair. The invoice is curiously worded and it will be noted that cart hire to Bangalore considerably exceeded the cost of the boots.

"Lieut. General Gwyn,

on the order of Col. Davies,

Commanding H. M. 22nd Dragoons.

Dear Sir,

For the proprietors of the Madras Tannery, for 100 pairs of Hungarian Boots for the Troopers of H. M. 22nd Dragoons at 3 Pagodas per pair. ... Star Pags. 300

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[1] Either this is a mistake, or both the 22nd and 25th Dragoons were stationed at Bangalore.

Charges.

One chest and two half chests for cart hire to Bangalore ... Star Pags. 510

Star Pags. 810

E. E. and contents received for the proprietors of the Tannery."

This cart hire is the equivalent of Rs. 1,800 on what can hardly have been more than two bandy loads at the outside. The Regiment, however, seem to have paid without demur, and Parry shortly received a repeat order for 100 pairs of boots.

The tannery was now "going on very well", but in view of the increasing turnover and the fact that Parry had at that time very considerable sums out on shipments to the Far East and elsewhere, he was tight for funds. It will be remembered he had Rs. 2,00,000 outstanding in the *General Wellesley* alone, and so, on the 10th April, 1807, he wrote to the Military Board for a further advance against his contract with them:—

"I request you will do me the favour to inform His Excellency the President and the Members of the Military Board, that I have delivered at the Arsenal, One thousand setts of Buff accoutrements and about 3,000 Pouches, and that in the course of a few days I shall be able to deliver one

thousand setts more of Buff and two thousand Pouches, anc that I have reason to expect that by the end of July, I shal nearly complete my contract for twelve thousand setts.

The expenses which I have been at in establishing th Tannery and Buff manufactory having exceeded my expect ations, I am under the necessity of requesting the Board wil have the goodness to assist me, with a further advance o about 7,500 pagodas on account of the contract. The accoutrements already delivered, and those which will be delivered, within the present month will exceed the amoun of the advance of Pagodas 5,000, with which the Board in dulged me when the contract was entered into."

Meantime Parry had heard from his Agent in Colombo regarding the supply of raw hides from there, and he wrote on the 10th April:—

"I am favoured with your letter of the 27th instant. I will engage to take from you any number of Buffaloes, Bullock, and cow hides, which you can send me in course of the present year, at the rate of one Rex Dollar per hide, payable here on delivery of the hides at the Exchange of five Rex Dollars for one Star Pagoda. It is to be understood that the hides must be sound, well salted, and dried and free from cuts and flaws.

The best way to secure the hides from damage is to scrape off the fleshy part with a blunt knife, as clean as it can be done, without cutting the hide, and then to salt the fleshy side, to hang it up in the air, and dry it well. The Butchers

should be cautioned not to cut the hides in taking them off the slaughtered cattle."

On the 21st April, 1807, Parry wrote another interesting letter to the Military Board regarding the supply of hides from the area round Madras. This was, no doubt, in connection with his request for the imposition of an Export Duty:—

"In reply to your letter, I have to acquaint you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor, that the number of dried hides received at the Madras Tannery, since the 4th March last, is as follows:—

Bullock and Cow Hides	...	1,395
Buffaloe Hides	...	2,195
		3,590

The range of country within which these hides have been collected does not exceed twenty-five miles from Madras, in any one direction, and from what the people employed to purchase them tell me, I think it probable that the number of cattle which have died since the beginning of March, within that extent of country, must be at least double that of the hides brought to me. The loss of so many valuable animals has arisen, I am persuaded, entirely from the severe drought of the season; for on enquiry last year, I found that the number of cattle which died in common seasons, within the limits of the country above described, was so trifling, that

it would not have answered my purpose to have employed a person to collect their hides."

Eighteen months after the despatch of Parry's first consignment of tanned hides to England a report on their reception in London reached him. The report was disappointing and on the 24th July, 1807, Parry wrote to his London Agent intimating that he would probably not repeat the experiment:—

"I have received your several letters respecting the consignment of leather by the *Metcalf*, and altho it has not turned out to my expectations I am nevertheless most truly obliged to you for all the trouble you have had and the great exertions you have used to make it otherwise.

If the duty could be got over, and the skins would sell in any quantity, the price of shs. 2/- per piece would pay me most handsomely. It appears extraordinary that no trial was made of those skins not tanned in the Morocco manner: they take the finest black here, and answer for upper leathers for light shoes admirably well. They might, I suppose, have been used in the same way at home, and particularly for women's shoes. It also occurred to me that they might be made use of by the book binders instead of calf skin. I never supposed they would take any other colour but black. I shall of course send home no more unless I can get better accounts from you."

On the 31st July, 1807, Parry sent a consignment of boots and shoes to Colombo:—

"By our Cutter which sailed a day or two ago, I forwarded a chest addressed to you (and which will be sent on from Trincomalee to Colombo) containing 36 pairs Russian Boots and 12 pairs of light shoes. They are the produce of the Madras Tannery and I am persuaded you will find them very superior to any you have ever seen which have been made in this country. I could wish to enter into a contract to supply any quantity that may be required by any person at Colombo on the following terms: The boots at 3½ Pags. per pair and the shoes at one Pagoda per pair, to be paid for in arrack deliveries to me here at the rate of 35 Star Pagodas per Leager, at the proof which it is received by the Arrack Contractor. If you can do anything in this way for me I shall be obliged to you".

On the 3rd October, 1807, Parry wrote to Colombo setting out the terms on which he employed bootmakers.

"Should the bootmakers come here, they may, if industrious, gain 5 Pagodas a month, for I pay to a Good Workman, one rupee per pair for what he can make, and he can with ease finish 15 or 18 pairs a month."

Parry next tried the Bombay market for his boots and he despatched a consignment there on the 20th October, 1807:—

"At the recommendation of my friend, Capt. C. A. Sheen I have taken the liberty to consign to you by the Prize Ship *Resolute,* a chest containing 128 pairs of Boots amounting as per invoice enclosed to Rupees 1,396—which I request you will be good enough to dispose of on my account. I am persuaded that you will find the Boots of a quality far superior to any hitherto manufactured in India.

If you can find a sale for them at Bombay I shall forward you a regular supply of as many as you can require."

Having decided in July not to repeat his efforts to enter London Market, Parry returned to the attack on the 22nd October, 1807, when he addressed the following letter to his London Agents:—

"By Mr. Prince of the *Dover Castle* I have sent a parcel containing 3—brown tanned skins, 3—Raw skins, the hair of which has been removed by bran and some seeds of this country, and three dyed skins for Morocco.

I will thank you to ascertain whether any of these would answer on the London Market—the Raw skins may be dyed any colour. The Skins which I formerly sent were rendered unfit for taking colours by the grease which was used, with the idea of preserving them. I am led to think that the musters I send now will be found to answer. We shall very shortly be able to make Morocco of a superior description and remarkably cheap compared to the price it bears at home."

It will be remembered that Parry had shipped a consignment of boots to New York in charge of a Captain Jackson in March, 1806. Jackson appears to have disappeared into the blue altogether, and Parry having heard nothing from him by the 22nd November, 1807, wrote him a letter which he forwarded by two Americans proceeding from Madras to New York:—

"*Mr. Hose and Mr. Sergent.*

Gentlemen,

I take the liberty to trouble you with a letter to Capt. I. P. Jackson, who left this for New York in the ship *Sanson*[1] in the year 1806. I have heard of his arrival there, but have never received any letters from him.

Capt. Jackson received from me a large quantity of tanned Goat Skins and other leather to a large amount, and as I have no account of what he has done with it I shall be much obliged by your taking the trouble of enquiring for him and using your endeavours to bring him to a settlement.

The enclosed is a copy of a memorandum which I gave to Capt. Jackson, and I shall be very thankful to you for any information you may, on your arrival in America, have the means of sending me on the subject.

Wishing you a safe and successful voyage."

The letter enclosed for Captain Jackson read as follows:—

"This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Hose and

[1] This was the ship in which Parry's son, John, sailed home.

Mr. Sergent to whom I request you will account for the proceeds of the Leather which you received from me in 1806. I cannot help expressing my surprise at your silence,—several ships having arrived here from New York since you reached that Port, and I have not received a single letter from you."

Whether Messrs. Hose and Sergent ever found Captain Jackson does not transpire, but as the consignment was shipped in 1806, and as Parry had heard nothing from Jackson by 1810, we may assume that the account had to be written off as a total loss.

6.

MEMORIAL TO LONDON.

Parry's memorial to London on the occasion of his second banishment in 1809, dated the 27th February, is here reproduced:—

To

The Honourable the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

The Memorial of Thomas Parry of Madras, Merchant, Humbly Sheweth,

That your Memorialist hath upwards of twenty years been engaged in Mercantile and Commercial dealings at the Presidency of Fort St. George, and that he hath now many great and important money concerns in this Country as will hereafter be explained by your Memorialist.

That in the year 1794, your Memorialist was requested, in common with the other Merchants of Fort St. George, to enter into a covenant with the Honourable Company, regarding the residence of your Memorialist in India, under certain

restrictions for the purposes of Trade, and your Memorialist in conformity to such request, did enter into and execute a Covenant unto the Hon'ble Company and did receive under their seal, a counterpart of the same.

That some time in the year 1800, your Memorialist was informed by the Government of Fort St. George, that your Hon'ble Court had been pleased to withdraw your protection from your memorialist, and to direct that your Memorialist should proceed to England.

That your Memorialist afterwards understood that in consequence of some representation or statement, favourable to your Memorialist, from the Government of Fort St. George your Hon'ble Court had been pleased to direct that the order above referred to regarding your Memorialist, should not be acted upon.

That your Memorialist has continued to carry on his business as a Merchant and otherwise, and has had many transactions and money concerns with the Government of Fort St. George, in all of which your Memorialist had reason to believe he had acquitted himself to the satisfaction of Government.

That in the year 1805 your Memorialist established at this Presidency, a Leather Manufactory on a very extensive scale and on which your Memorialist has expended large sums of money.

That your Memorialist in this undertaking had the approbation of the Right Honorable Lord William Bentinck who was pleased to say that he thought it might become an useful public establishment.

That your Memorialist has supplied from this Manufactory various articles for the use of the Government and also for the use of His Majesty's Army and Navy.

That your Memorialist has employed in this Manufactory on an average from three to three hundred and fifty persons monthly, thereby giving support to them and their large families.

That in the year 1806 your Memorialist received from the Military Male Asylum ten boys as apprentices in his Manufactory who are now far advanced in the duties of the several departments, in which they are employed.

That your Memorialist has entertained about Thirty more boys the sons of poor native Christians who now depend entirely for subsistence and support on your Memorialist.

That in the year 1807, when famine caused destruction among the cattle, your Memorialist employed several persons who had no other means of support, in collecting the hides of cattle which died, and actually disbursed on that account upwards of two thousand Pagodas and thereby contributed to that extent towards the relief and maintenance of many distressed people who must otherwise have been supported by Government or have perished.

That your Memorialist had the good fortune to be able to afford such relief was entirely owing to his having established the Manufactory abovementioned.

That in the Month of October 1806, Lieutenant Colonel Cullen who had undertaken an Indigo Manufactory in the vicinity of Cuddalore, applied to your Memorialist for assistance to carry it on, his agent Messrs. Tulloh & Co., in

consequence of the embarrassed state of their affairs, not having the means of affording him support, and the Government of Fort St. George, from whom he had received an advance of fifteen thousand Pagodas on the security of Messrs. Tulloh & Co., having called upon him for the payment of that sum and declined giving him further aid.

That Colonel Cullen stated to your Memorialist, that unless your Memorialist came forward to his relief, he must abandon the speculation altogether, and conceiving from his representations that the undertaking was likely ultimately to become a beneficial one, your Memorialist agreed to assist the said Lieutenant Colonel Cullen, and did accordingly come under advances on his account for large sums of money.

That in the month of March 1807, a peremptory demand was made by the Board of Trade on the said Lieutenant Colonel Cullen for the balance then due by him to the Honourable Company, amounting to about Ten Thousand Star Pagodas and which, his securities Messrs. Tulloh & Co. could not discharge.

That your Memorialist at the request of Lieutenant Colonel Cullen, offered to pay to the Board of Trade the sum of five thousand Star Pagodas in Cash, and to enter into a security bond with him for the balance. This offer was made to the Board of Trade on the 10th March. Your Memorialist received an answer thereto, dated the 24th March, and on the 10th April, Lieutenant Colonel Cullen died at Pondicherry.

That although the above mentioned agreement was not perfected, owing to the sudden death of Lieutenant Cullen,

your Memorialist did notwithstanding, actually pay to the Board of Trade, the balance due by Lieutenant Colonel Cullen to the Honourable Company.

That Mr. Dick, who did then direct and has since directed, all the operations of the Board of Trade, told your Memorialist, that he, your Memorialist, was, in consequence of the readiness which he evinced to fulfil the said arrangement justly entitled to, and would undoubtedly receive the support of Government, in any way it might be required as regarding the Indigo works of the said Lieutenant Colonel Cullen which were mortgaged to your Memorialist for his security.

That your Memorialist at the time of the death of Lieutenant Colonel Cullen was a Creditor to the amount of more than twenty thousand Star Pagodas, nearly one half of which was incurred in consequence of becoming responsible for the balance due to the Hon'ble Company.

That the Indigo works of the said Lieutenant Colonel Cullen were afterwards sold by public auction, and your Memorialist was under the necessity of buying in several of them, in order to cover as far as he could, the amount of his advances.

That a considerable balance is notwithstanding still due by the Estate to your Memorialist, which he has no prospect of recovering.

That owing to the entire failure of rain in the year 1806, and to the scantiness of the Monsoon in 1807, the Indigo produced at the several works belonging to your Memorialist, has not been sufficient to defray the Current expenses of the establishment.

That your Memorialist trusts the present season will be more favourable and he still entertains hopes that Indigo will be manufactured on this Coast as an article of export to a considerable extent.

That your Memorialist when he took charge of the Indigo works of the deceased Lieutenant Colonel Cullen introduced various changes and alterations in the method of manufacturing Indigo which he has the satisfaction to know, have completely answered his expectation: at the sales of Indigo in London in August, the Indigo manufactured by Lieutenant Colonel Cullen averaged only five shillings and five pence per pound and that made under the superintendence and according to the directions of your Memorialist, averaged at the same sales eight shillings and three pence per pound.

That when your Memorialist again visited the Indigo works in April last, your Memorialist made further alterations and improvement and the Indigo now produced at his several works is admitted by the best judges in Calcutta, to whom samples have been sent, to be of a very superior quality.

That some time after Colonel Cullen commenced his Indigo operations, Mr. Edward Campbell of Chidambaram also embarked in a similar undertaking, but being much embarrassed in his circumstances he would not have had the means of prosecuting it without the assistance of your Memorialist—that in consequence of several advances he has received from your Memorialist he is indebted to your Memorialist in a large sum of money.

That your Memorialist trusts he has clearly shown that if the manufacturing of Indigo, as an article of export, be prosecuted with success on this Coast, it is owing in no small degree, if not entirely, to the exertions of your Memorialist, and that it has been done at his risk and expense.

And your Memorialist sheweth that whilst engaged in the concerns abovementioned and in other Mercantile pursuits, your Memorialist had the mortification to receive a letter under the signature of the Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George dated the 8th instant, informing your Memorialist that the Hon'ble the Governor in Council considering it indispensable that the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors for the embarkation of your Memorialist for England should now be enforced, he was directed to desire that your Memorialist will be prepared to embark by the earliest opportunity: a copy of which letter No. 1, is annexed[1] for the information of your Honourable Court and your Memorialist further showeth that to such letter, your Memorialist did write in reply a letter of the tenor and effect with the paper No. 2, herewith also annexed.

And your Memorialist hoped that the reasonable information which your Memorialist humbly solicited from the Hon'ble the Governor in Council through the medium of his last mentioned letter would have been acceded to him in order that your Memorialist might have been enabled to have done away any unfavourable impression which might have been conceived against him by the Government of Fort St. George, but to this moment your Memorialist has not received any reply to his said letter.

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[1] See page 65.

Your Memorialist earnestly entreats the attention of your Hon'ble Court to the detriment which your Memorialist's affairs have suffered from the operations of the orders of Government which have been publicly communicated to him which by rendering your Memorialist's stay in India more than precarious, have materially affected the credit of your Memorialist and will considerably impede him in the various concerns in which he is engaged, and prevent him from reaping those advantages from them, to which his industry and exertions certainly entitle him.

That it will appear to your Hon'ble Court, that a great many people are employed and supported by your Memorialist; these people in the event of your Memorialist being forced to leave India, before he has placed the business in which he is engaged on a permanent footing, will be thrown at large upon the world without the means of maintaining themselves and their families.

That your Memorialist has always been led to believe that a person who exerts his abilities and industry in useful undertakings and such as are likely to increase the Revenues and benefit the subjects of the Government under which he lives, is not merely entitled to the protection, but has strong claims to the support of that Government.

That your Memorialist trusts from what he has set forth, it will be apparent to your Hon'ble Court that he has exerted his abilities and industry in useful undertakings and he relies on the protection and favour of your Hon'ble Court.

Your Memorialist therefore, placing as he does the most implicit confidence in the justice and humanity of your

Hon'ble Court, most earnestly requests that your Hon'ble Court will be pleased to suspend the execution of the orders communicated to your Memorialist, by the Government of Fort St. George, until an enquiry shall have taken place into the conduct of your Memorialist in whatever it may have been deemed offensive and until your Memorialist shall have had an opportunity, of which he is most desirous, of meeting and repelling any charge made against or offence imputed to him.

And your Memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray.

Madras,
27th February, 1809.

THOMAS PARRY.

End of Part II.

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Appendix.

1. MESSRS. PARRY & CO.'S PERSONNEL FROM 1788 TO 1938.

2. GOVERNORS OF FORT ST. GEORGE FROM 1786 TO 1827.

3. GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA FROM 1786 TO 1828.

Appendix 1.

The different changes in the personnel of Messrs. Parry & Co. and the various names under which the firm has traded between 1788 and 1938 are here detailed.

Date.	*Style of Firm.*	*Partners.*
1788—1789	Thomas Parry	Thomas Parry
1789—1790	Chase and Parry	Thomas Chase Thomas Parry
1790—1791	Chase Parry & Co.	Thomas Chase Thomas Parry Henry Sewell
1791—1794	Thomas Parry	Thomas Parry
1795—1796	Thomas Parry & Co.	Thomas Parry A. N. Other
1797—1800	Parry Garrow & Co.	Thomas Parry George Garrow
1801—1805	Parry and Lane	Thomas Parry J. K. Lane
1806—1808	Parry Neill & Co.	Thomas Parry A. T. Gibbons J. Neill
1809—1812	Parry and Pugh	Thomas Parry David Pugh

Date.	*Style of Firm.*	*Partners.*
1813—1818	Parry Pugh and Breithaupt	Thomas Parry David Pugh C. Breithaupt
1819—1822	Parry and Dare	Thomas Parry J. W. Dare
1823—1824	Parry Dare & Co.	Thomas Parry J. W. Dare Jos. Pugh
1825—1829	Do.	J. W. Dare Jos. Pugh
1830—1834	Do.	J. W. Dare J. M. Jollie Jos. Pugh
1835	Do.	J. W. Dare Jos. Pugh
1836—1838	Do.	J. W. Dare Jos. Pugh David Pugh (Jr.) C. R. Howard
1839—1841	Parry & Co.	Jos. Pugh David Pugh (Jr.) J. V. Ellis
1842—1844	Do.	David Pugh (Jr.) J. V. Ellis J. Goolden
1845—1849	Do.	David Pugh (Jr.) J. V. Ellis J. Goolden H. Nelson
1850	Do.	J. V. Ellis J. Goolden H. Nelson

Date.	*Style of Firm.*	*Partners.*
1851—1860	Parry & Co.	J. V. Ellis J. Goolden H. Nelson W. H. Crake John Pugh
1861	Do.	J. Goolden H. Nelson W. H. Crake John Pugh
1862	Do.	J. Goolden W. H. Crake John Pugh A. F. Brown
1863—1866	Do.	J. Goolden W. H. Crake A. F. Brown J. C. Loch
1867—1868	Do.	W. H. Crake A. F. Brown J. C. Loch J. Jones
1869	Do.	A. F. Brown J. C. Loch J. Jones
1870—1871	Do.	A. F. Brown J. Jones
1872—1878	Do.	A. F. Brown J. Jones J. C. Shaw
1878—1881	Do.	A. F. Brown J. C. Shaw J. Fortune

Date.	Style of Firm.	Partners.
1882—1884	Parry & Co.	J. C. Shaw J. Fortune W. P. Crake
1885—1886	Do.	J. C. Shaw J. Fortune
1886—1888	Do.	J. C. Shaw J. Fortune W. S. Shaw
1889—1890	Do.	J. C. Shaw J. Fortune W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke
1891	Do.	J. Fortune W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke
1892	Do.	J. C. Shaw W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke
1893—1895	Do.	J. C. Shaw W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke A. S. S. Paul
1896—1897	Do.	A. J. Yorke W. S. Shaw A. S. S. Paul
1898	Do.	W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke A. S. S. Paul A. D. Jackson
1899	Do.	W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson A. Macdonald

Date.	Style of Firm.	Partners.
1900—1904	Parry & Co.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson A. Macdonald
1905—1906	Do.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson
1907—1908	Do.	W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson C. W. Prest
1909	Do.	W. S. Shaw A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson
1910	Do.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson
1911	Do.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson A. G. Batley
1912	Do.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson A. G. Batley J. C. Armstrong
1913	Do.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson A. G. Batley J. C. Armstrong A. F. Buchanan
1914—1915	Do.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson J. C. Armstrong A. F. Buchanan
1916	Do.	A. J. Yorke A. D. Jackson J. C. Armstrong A. F. Buchanan C. E. Wood

Date.	*Style of Firm.*	*Partners.*
1917—1918	Parry & Co.	A. D. Jackson J. C. Armstrong A. F. Buchanan C. E. Wood
1919—1921	Do.	A. D. Jackson J. C. Armstrong A. F. Buchanan C. E. Wood W. O. Wright
1922—1926	Do.	J. C. Armstrong A. F. Buchanan C. E. Wood W. O. Wright
1927	Do.	A. F. Buchanan C. E. Wood W. O. Wright
1928—1932	Parry & Co., Ltd.,	Sir Edgar Wood W. O. Wright G. H. Hodgson H. D. Stephens
1933—1934	Do.	W. O. Wright G. H. Hodgson H. D. Stephens
1935—1936	Do.	Sir William Wright G. H. Hodgson H. D. Stephens C. Elphinston
1937—1938	Do.	Sir William Wright G. H. Hodgson C. Elphinston G. B. Gourlay

Appendix 2.

List of Governors of Fort St. George from 1786 to 1827.

1786—1789	Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell	and Commander-in-Chief
1789—1790	Mr. John Hollond	Provisional
1790	Mr. Edward John Hollond	Provisional
1790	Major-General William Medows	and Commander-in-Chief
1790	Mr. John Turing	Provisional
1790	Mr. Morgan Williams	Provisional
1790—1792	Sir Charles Oakeley	Provisional
1792	Major-General William Medows	and Commander-in-Chief
1792—1794	Sir Charles Oakeley	
1794—1798	Lord Hobart	
1798	Lieut.-General George Harris	Provisional and Commander-in-Chief
1798—1803	Lord Clive	
1803—1807	Lord William Bentinck	
1807	William Petrie	Provisional
1807—1813	Sir George Barlow	
1813—1814	The Hon. John Abercromby	
1814—1820	Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliot	
1820—1827	Major-General Sir Thomas Munro	

Appendix 3.

List of Governors-General of India from 1786 to 1828.

1786—1793	...	Lord (Marquis) Cornwallis
1793—1798	...	Sir John Shore, Bart.
1798—1805	...	Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley)
1805—1807	...	Sir George Barlow, Bart.
1807—1813	...	Lord Minto
1813—1823	...	Lord Moira (Marquis of Hastings)
1823—1828	...	Lord Amherst.

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